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CRIME MENACE

A Symposium

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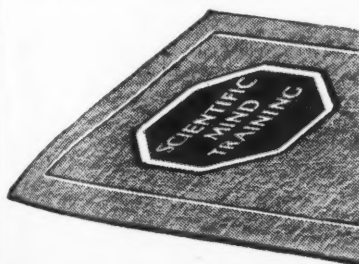
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CURRENT HISTORY

BOOK REVIEWS

Vol. XXVII

December, 1927

Number 3

An Antidote to Nordic Conceit

By ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON

RESEARCH ASSOCIATE IN GEOGRAPHY, YALE UNIVERSITY

MOST people enjoy comparing their own race with others. The vast majority unhesitatingly pronounce their own superior. Professor Griffith Taylor* of the University of Sydney, Australia, is one of those uncomfortable but highly beneficial people who punch pinholes in the balloon of self-esteem which has of late swollen to such size among Nordics. According to him, that branch of humanity stands only about three-fourths of the way toward the top; biologically, at least, it by no means equals the broad-headed Alpine race of Central Europe and Asia. The Nordics have heads that are high and long, the Alpines have heads that excel not only in those two dimensions, but also in breadth, and hence have a maximum of brain capacity. If the Nordics today and the allied Mediterranean race in the past have been leaders in civilization, it is not because of biological superiority, but because they happen to occupy the best environments; they live or have lived where the climate is most stimulating, where the advantages of the seafaring life are at a maximum, where the best supplies of coal have been hoarded for millions of years and where other environmental conditions are especially favorable.

In *Environment and Race* Professor Taylor gives concrete expression to this idea by means of a world map showing the middle of Asia—where live the people with the broadest heads—as a centre of racial dispersal. As we go outward in all directions the heads of the prevailing races, omitting recent migrants like the Europeans in America, are longer and lower, until we reach the most primitive and degraded types in the most inaccessible or least desirable parts of the world, such as Southern India, Australia, Southwestern Africa, Labrador and the Amazon Basin. In each continent, however,

higher types of heads penetrate to great distances along certain central lines where migration is relatively easy. Thus in Europe the broad-headed people project as a central wedge with its point in France; in North America broad-headed people occupy large areas in the West, where people migrating south from Alaska would normally be found.

One of the chief foundations of Professor Taylor's hypothesis is the fact that in any given region the more ancient inhabitants generally had narrower and lower heads than those of today. Thus the primitive Neanderthal race of Central Europe one or two hundred thousand years ago had decidedly narrow low heads, suggesting those of some of the lower races of Africa, Southern India and Australia today. Later people had slightly more developed heads, suggesting those of the modern negro. Then come the higher heads of the Hamitic or Mediterranean type, which is not very different from the Nordic type, and finally the broad-headed Alpines, who stand at the climax of the evolutionary pyramid.

Professor Taylor interprets these two sets of facts as meaning that Central Asia has been the great breeding ground of races. New races have evolved more rapidly and frequently there than elsewhere because the climate has varied more radically than in any other region where man has been able to live uninterruptedly. The extreme climatic vicissitudes of the successive glacial epochs not only stimulated evolution, but drove out one race after another. Long, long ago, the earliest men with low, narrow, animal-like heads were obliged to migrate from the Asiatic deserts in large numbers because their home became very dry. Some went toward Europe, others penetrated Africa or the Indian Peninsula, a few traversed the Malay Peninsula and perhaps crossed to the East Indies and Australia, which were not then

**Environment and Race*. By Griffith Taylor. New York: American Branch, Oxford University Press.

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so widely separated as now from the rest of the world. During an ensuing glacial period the Asiatic deserts became relatively moist and hospitable and a new race evolved with heads of a less primitive type. Tens of thousands of years later, during an interglacial epoch, the climate again became so dry that this new race had to migrate. It followed the same paths as its predecessor, sometimes amalgamating with the old race, sometimes killing it and sometimes driving it onward into remote or inhospitable regions like mountain ranges and equatorial forests. Thus the process of evolution and migration continued during at least four glacial epochs, with their intervening interglacial epochs of great deserts. At unknown stages of this process some of the early races crossed Bering Strait and spread out in America just as in the other continents. Last of all, the really broad-headed races spread outward, especially into Europe and North America.

If all this is true we must radically revise many of our opinions. We must recognize that Nordic and Mediterranean people stand at the top not because of biological superiority, but because of superior geographic environment. We must confess that the ideal biological type is not a high head much elongated from front to back and relatively narrow, but a high head which is relatively broad as well as long. We must face the question of whether this latter type is likely to oust the present leaders.

Taylor's hypotheses, as published in preliminary form in scientific journals, have aroused much criticism. To begin with, in his desire to discover great general truths he disregards many groups of people which seem to him of minor importance, but as to which other people think differently. Although it is true that this ability of Taylor's to disregard minor details and make effective generalizations is advantageous in some respects, such ability involves the corresponding danger of disregarding details that do not fit one's generalizations and magnifying those that do. Another criticism is that Professor Taylor spends little time in seeking or considering the objections to his hypotheses. Still another danger lies in the fact that when he has formed a main hypothesis he sometimes forgets its origin and uses it as though it were an established fact. Critics also say that Professor Taylor continually sets forth poorly founded hypotheses which he himself later rejects. This is a stupid criticism, arising either from a failure to appreciate an original mind or from carelessness in reading the words with which Taylor carefully labels his suggestions as suggestions only.

Perhaps most important, as well as most excusable, among the possible criticisms of Tay-

lor's work is the undeniable fact that he seems to underrate the importance of both inheritance and human culture. Yet, does he underrate them or merely ignore them? To some the fact that he so largely ignores them may seem an insuperable defect and a reason for rejecting all of the conclusions of his unusual book. But that is poor logic. Taylor is dealing with the problem of *environment* and he consciously puts aside everything else. Can a book that is open to such criticism really be highly important? It seems to me that it can. One reason is that Professor Taylor has a highly enviable reputation not only for originality and scientific courage, but for extremely careful and reliable work in his study of the Australian environment. That work is summed up in the last part of the present volume. It has, indeed, been bitterly criticized by Australian politicians and "100 per centers," who deny that there is any such thing as a desert in Australia and who talk about a population of 100,000,000 where 20,000,000 is liberal. But among geographers it is regarded as one of the most reliable, thorough and convincing studies of environment that has ever been made. A man who can do such work deserves attention.

The main reason, however, for paying respectful attention to Taylor's hypothesis of races is that, with all its defects and imperfections, it is the only hypothesis which really looks the whole subject squarely in the face. It is unique as a plausible explanation of a great variety of facts pertaining not only to ethnology, but to geology, geography, anthropology, economics and history. The trouble with most hypotheses is that they are based on a single branch of knowledge and may go counter to other branches. Taylor's hypothesis, on the contrary, is directly in harmony with many of the most advanced studies along other lines. For example, such geologists as Dr. W. D. Matthew of the American Museum of Natural History believe that the evolution and migrations of animals have followed a course almost identical with that which Taylor sets forth for man. Botanists find a similar condition. Professor Will, for example, in a very penetrating and stimulating volume called *Age and Area* has shown that the older a given type of plant the more widely it is distributed. In the original centre of dispersion it may have disappeared or become modified, but the older and more simple types persist far out in the border regions with only such modifications as are enforced by the environment. The phenomena of human culture show a similar condition, as has been well shown by such men as Dr. Wissler of Yale and Dr. Kroeber of California. The most ancient inventions are very widely spread and also appear in the oldest and most deeply

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buried traces of human settlement. More recent inventions are not so widely spread nor so deeply buried. The most recent are often limited almost to the place where they arise. Even in so modern a thing as Paris fashions this same law prevails. Thus in geology, anthropology and economics we find the same principle which Taylor discovers among the races of men—old, primitive types still existing far out on the borders, but deeply buried among the relics of the past in the centres of dispersal, intermediate types less widely distributed and less deeply buried and the latest types still existing near the centre of dispersal.

Even this does not end the matter. In his recent book on *Social Mobility* Professor Sorokin rises up to say that among ourselves the long-headed type is not so dominant as we have thought. He disputes practically all the evidence which has been supposed to show that our great men and leaders are more long-headed than the rest of us. He more than hints that the opposite may be true and that great men may be more broad-headed than their compatriots of the same race. If this is so it provides strong confirmation of Taylor's main idea that the broad-headed type is the most recent and highest biologically. When finally it comes to the recent replacement of one race by another the broad heads appear to be the gainers. The broad-headed Turks, for example, have been ousting the Greeks and other long heads from the Near East, the Slavs are edging over into Europe in a way that is quite disconcerting to some of the more long-headed people. Even among ourselves there is a pronounced increase of broad-headed people like the Russian Jews in regions which once were sacred to the relatively long-headed Nordics.

In addition to these positive reasons for thinking that Taylor's hypothesis is by no means to be ignored even if it may not yet be accepted, there is another reason for attaching great value to *Environment and Race*. Whether the hypothesis there set forth is right or wrong, it is highly beneficial as an antidote to Nordic and European conceit. We know that we are culturally and politically dominant—as to that there can scarcely be two opinions. But are we dominant biologically, and have we any assurance of retaining our cultural and political dominance for century after century? Perhaps Taylor's bold hypothesis, with its contradiction of our prevalent ideas, is just what we need not only to stimulate scientific investigation but to stimulate concrete activities whereby our own race will evolve in the direction of true biological progress, whatever that direction may be. Such a suggestion may seem ridiculous, but is it any more ridiculous than the suggestion of spending hundreds of

millions of dollars to kill mosquitoes would have seemed in the days of Charlemagne? We must bear in mind that we are still ignorant, densely ignorant, in regard to many of the most vital human problems. Therefore Griffith Taylor's *Environment and Race*, although difficult to read and understand, is likely to have an important effect upon millions of people. It is a book to be carefully and tolerantly studied by all who really seek the truth.

Presentday Egypt

MANY books have been written about modern Egypt, but none, perhaps, with the refreshing candor of Mr. Young's work.* No one has approached the question of the tangled relations between the British Empire and Egypt with the same freedom from bias, the same sympathetic understanding of the merits of the divergent claims of both sides or the same preoccupation to let the naked facts speak for themselves. Instead of approaching the subject from the angle of the British occupation, what it has and what it has not done, its difficulties, its disinterested or diplomatic motives, the author attacks the problem from the angle of the Egyptian nation itself, its birth, growth and the very tortuous track along which it has reached its goal.

As a nation, he tells us, modern Egypt begins with the Great War, but as a self-governing State it derives from Napoleon's Egyptian expedition in 1798. The story of the intervening century is told, not in the modern method of writing history, which ignores personalities and policies, illustrates developments from the lives of the common people and explains it by economic factors and moral forces, but rather in the old manner, mainly through the careers of its rulers and the political events of the day. The modern method he finds inapplicable to Egypt, for, except that cotton has replaced corn, the economics of the country are very much as they were in the days of Pharaoh and his foreign financial adviser, Joseph. Its implements and industries are nearly all the same—the plow, the hoe and the shadow. But he does not allow the picturesque characters and careers of the rulers to obscure the cross-currents of Egyptian nationalism and of European imperialism on which they floated to fortune or drifted to destruction.

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**Egypt*. By George Young. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927.

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Mr. Young's wide knowledge of the political, social and economic conditions of the Near East—a fact readily deducible from the able manner in which he handles his subject—certainly entitles him to be heard with respect. His conscientious preoccupation to support his statements by first-hand evidence is most praiseworthy. So is the moderation with which he metes out commendation for the services rendered by Great Britain during the Egyptian nation's minority, for it should be remembered, as Mr. Young aptly points out, that Great Britain has spared Egypt many years of fighting for independence that it would have had to face had it been included in the military empires with which the Mediterranean Powers have expanded over North Africa and Syria. But such services as Great Britain may have rendered do not blind him to his country's faults. These he enumerates with the same disconcerting candor with which he attacks the British statesmen's failure not only to understand, propitiate and win over Egyptian nationalism, but because they unnecessarily crushed the movement in its infancy and unjustifiably neglected its education during the long and profitable trusteeship; because of their cynical lack of appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Egypt in constructing the Suez Canal, for which she was made to pay heavily and was left with not even the most insignificant share. He likewise reminds them of Egypt's services in suppressing the slave traffic, which was not only a source of much profit to Egypt and its rulers, but also a part of the whole structure of public and private property. It was no small matter for the Khedive, a Moslem potentate, to decree that a fundamental principle of Islam and one of its main forms of property was illegal and to join with Christian States in suppressing it internationally. Nor does he fail to press home to the Allies in general and the British Empire in particular the full extent of the timely assistance given by Egypt during the war. This assistance, if compared with the stupendous efforts put forth by the Allies, might, indeed, seem insignificant, but its real worth would be the better appreciated if viewed in its proper perspective. The Allies were fighting for their very existence and they had much to gain, whereas Egypt had much to lose and little to gain. Indeed, when she rendered assistance she did so not only with no hope of any reward but with the unwelcome knowledge which the declaration of the protectorate had forcibly brought home to all, shattering any hope that the Egyptians might have cherished of attaining independence some day. In the declaration of the protectorate there was no promise even of an extension of self-government!

The declaration of Feb. 28, 1922, terminating the protectorate and declaring the sovereignty and independence of Egypt, while reserving for future settlement the famous points, is, according to Mr. Young, "a conveyance of straightforward common sense and courage. * * * Instead of the usual official lubrication in which a jam is made up of a pontifical lecture, a leading article and a legal pleading concealing a powder which the patient strongly suspects of being a poison, we have here the gift of a whole loaf, both short and sweet." Nevertheless, consistently with the impartial attitude he has maintained throughout his work, he does not find fault with the failure of the Nationalists to swallow it unquestioningly or to appreciate the magnanimity of the donors, but rather analyzes their stand and records the following conclusion: "Yet, honest and generous as the gift to Egypt was, we must in fairness admit that we gave them less than we got. We gave up the protectorate and martial law; but then it was already quite clear that we could no longer avoid doing so."

Having reported the story of modern Egypt up to date, Mr. Young enters the frankly controversial field of relations hereafter to be established between Great Britain, Egypt and the Sudan. With characteristic boldness he recommends a solution that cannot fail to impress all readers as a plausible way out of the present deadlock. Confronted on the one hand with the intransigence of the Nationalists, who are determined to win the full rights of self-determination, and on the other hand by the dogged tenacity of the British not to yield one inch of the ground which they are convinced would endanger the safety of their Empire, the policy that recommends itself to him is a practical compromise leading to a real evacuation of Egypt by the British against the renunciation of the Sudan by Egypt, with recourse to the League of Nations for the guarantees required by British interests in the canal and by Egyptian interests in the Nile.

As matters stand today, the relations of both parties are still undefined. Egypt, under the declaration of 1922, actually has less assurance of its status as a nation and less real independence than the new kingdom of Iraq. On the other hand, any cooperation ministry the British may succeed in getting to administer the affairs of Egypt is foredoomed if it runs counter to the wishes of the Nationalists, and the British cannot pass the necessary measures by decrees as they did before when the country was under martial law. And this unstable condition will drag on indefinitely.

The first three reservations of the declaration of 1922 emphasize the need of keeping a British garrison to secure the canal, to de-

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fend Egypt and to protect the foreigners and minorities. But the military advantage of guarding the canal by a garrison has been exploded and the conception of garrisoning the country for its defense belongs to ideas of imperialist strategy long out of date. Both these objectives can be better secured by international guarantees and by an Anglo-Egyptian defensive alliance. Foreigners are amply protected by the Capitulations and there is no minority in Egypt that really requires protection either on racial or religious grounds. It would therefore seem that none of these—and, according to Mr. Young, even the Sudan question itself—would offer any great difficulties to professional negotiators seeking a practical compromise and not primarily concerned with the principles either of British supremacy or of Egyptian sovereignty. Hitherto it was the unreasonable insistence of both sides on upholding each its own point of view that has wrecked the chances of a settlement.

With the reserved points cleared up either by direct concessions or by reference to the League of Nations, one of two alternative possibilities may serve to establish the future relations between the British Empire and Egypt. The first, which suggests that Egypt become a self-governing dominion within the Empire in spite of the advantages that Egypt may reap therefrom, is no more than a remote possibility. The second suggests that Egypt become a really sovereign and independent State and its future relations with Great Britain be those of two foreign but friendly nations sharing certain responsibilities of international importance regulated by international treaties, such as the canal and the Nile. This second is the one that seems to have better chance of success if Great Britain and Egypt can find a satisfactory solution of the question of the Sudan.

This is the crux of the whole situation, and it is in the short appendix to this valuable work that the first jarring note is struck. The dissent one may justly record, however, is not so much from the compromise under which Egypt would renounce her right to a vast territory as from the doubt Mr. Young entertains as to Egypt's right to sovereignty over the Sudan. He characterizes the Egyptian claim to rule this territory as of right as being weak, as never having been recognized formally by Europe, and so forth. He seems to have overlooked the vast import of the Firman of Feb. 13, 1841, and the official correspondence and documents relating to the evacuation of the country in consequence of the Mahdi's revolt, to its reconquest and the establishment of the Condominium, and particularly those relating to the Fashoda incident. But one should not be too severe on this point, because Mr.

Young's main preoccupation is to put an end to the present impasse, which he is convinced can best be effected by a compromise, and all compromises involve mutual concessions under sufficient guarantees.

A settlement of the question by the League of Nations would probably result in awarding Egypt the territory north of Khartum, which would assign to it an area that would increase its territory by as much as half. Such an award would leave to the British-ruled Sudan the territory south of such a line. The League would likewise see to it that the rights of Egypt in the Nile are amply secured and controlled by a commission composed of an equal number of representatives of both sides under the League's presidency.

I. A. K.

The Salonika Trial*

By ALFRED VON WEGERER

EDITOR OF *Die Kriegsschuldfrage* (GERMAN JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE INVESTIGATION OF THE ORIGINS OF THE WORLD WAR)

ON June 26, 1917, the Serbian Colonel Dragutin Dimitrievitch Apis and two of his followers were shot at Salonika after being found guilty by a military tribunal of what was described as an attempt on the life of the Regent Heir Apparent, Prince Alexander, now King of Yugoslavia. In view of Dimitrievitch's special position in the Serbian Army and his close connection with the royal family, this sentence caused a great sensation at the time. Nevertheless, the evidence given at the trial was printed by the Serbian Government and published in 1918 at Salonika under the title *Tajna Prevratana Organizacija* (Secret Revolutionary Organization). Soon afterward, however, the book was withdrawn by the Government, and in spite of the fact that it was an official publication, and even placed on the Index. Today there are in existence only a few copies of this report of the trial, comprising 630 pages. It is there-

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**Le Procès de Salonique*, Paris: André Delpeuch. An attempt has been made to kill this book. In the *Neues Wiener Tageblatt* of May 31, 1927, a well-known professor of the Vienna University published an objective and comprehensive criticism of the work. The public waited in vain for the second part of this essay, but it never appeared, owing to the fact that the *Neues Wiener Tageblatt* was threatened by Yugoslavia with the withdrawal of postal facilities for its distribution in that country should the journal publish the second part of the article. Similar steps have been taken in the case of other Vienna newspapers.—A. von W.

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fore the more opportune that the former Serbian Chargé d'Affaires in Berlin, Dr. Boghitchevitch, should have published the more essential parts of the documents in connection with the trial.

The report of the trial is especially noteworthy because, in addition to other things, it furnishes important information and circumstantial evidence bearing upon the Sarajevo crime and the Pan-Serbian movement as well as the question of war guilt. Dr. Boghitchevitch expresses the opinion that a revision of this trial is even now urgently necessary "for the honour of the country and in the interests both of the families of the condemned men and of the men themselves."

After the murder of the last Obrenovitch, King Alexander, and of Queen Draga, on June 11, 1903, by the officers' conspiracy (in which Dimitrievitch Apis was also a participant) the national movement was fostered chiefly under the influence of this strong-willed and fervent patriot. It was to his zeal that the founding of the secret organization known as "Union or Death" was chiefly due. Between the Radical Party under Pashitch, that was then in power, and the "Black Hand," as the association was called by the populace, the friction became more and more pronounced and in 1914 would have brought the country to the brink of a revolution had the outbreak of the World War not given things a different turn. The members of the "Black Hand" were dissatisfied with the methods of the Radical Party in the territories added to Serbia after the Balkan War, to which a Constitution had not been granted until December, 1913. King Peter, quite convinced that the grievances brought forward by the officers with regard to the corruption of the authorities were justified, intended to bring about the resignation of the Radical Party from the Government, and in this sense pledged his word to the Chief of the General Staff, the Voivode Putnik. At this juncture Russia interfered, thinking, as Boghitchevitch points out, that Pashitch was indispensable for the policy of collaboration with her allies. Under the pretext of ill health, King Peter abdicated and appointed Prince Alexander as Regent. The Heir Apparent, in spite of his former relations with the officers of the "Black Hand," thus became fettered to the Radical Party. The relations between the Heir Apparent and General Headquarters remained as strained as before, and after the defeats suffered by the Serbian Army (which after the advance of the Germans and Austrians had to withdraw via Albania to Corfu) became more and more critical. After the army had been reorganized on Corfu, the

Serbian units were in the Spring of 1916 again employed on the Salonika front, this time under the command of General Sarraill.

The Heir Apparent and the Radicals under Pashitch now felt strong enough to fight out their battle with the "Black Hand" in the open. The first step taken was to relieve Dimitrievitch of his duties at General Headquarters. The original intention was to send him as military attaché to Brussels. This idea was, however, allowed to drop and he was appointed Vice-Chief of the General Staff of the Third Army, the Chief of Staff being one of his most bitter political opponents. As Dimitrievitch in this position did not seem to be sidetracked and as his enemies were afraid of his old restlessness as well as of his influence and of his knowledge of the secret intrigues and the anti-Austrian propaganda that was fostered by the Government, an attempt was made to get rid of him altogether. Three komitadjis were paid 20,000 gold drachmas to murder him. The attempt failed, on account of his being warned in time by one of the komitadjis. Dimitrievitch was then arrested with the acquiescence of General Sarraill on a charge of having entered into negotiations with the enemy. When the charge of high treason broke down, an incredible thing happened. Dimitrievitch was accused of having attempted to murder the Prince Regent, and in proof of this an incident was adduced which had occurred on Sept. 11, 1916, more than four months before the charge was brought.

On the day in question, the exact date of which, strange to say, could not be fixed, but which was later supplied by Pashitch, the heir apparent was riding in a motorcar, driven by a certain Marquis Antoine de Besiade d'Avaray. The car stopped and the surrounding country was searched. French detectives who had followed the car helped in the search. Prince Alexander's own impression at the time was that no actual attempt on his life had been made, but that his attendants had imagined it. The French detectives drew up a report in connection with the matter. At the trial the reading of this document was not permitted on the ground that it was of no importance, and this in spite of the fact that the accused had asked that it should be read.

The report of the trial provides fresh confirmation of the theory that the "Black Hand" was known both to the Court and to the Government. The Serbian Government in 1914, after the crime of Sarajevo, nevertheless took no steps toward suppressing this organization or toward instituting an inquiry into the matter. This is the more remarkable

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because, as becomes clear from the memorandum addressed to Parliament by the officers condemned in the Saloniki trial, the activities of the "Black Hand" had always been known to the competent authorities, and had been in harmony with the intentions of these authorities. Dr. Boghitchevitch also reports that M. Hartwig, the Russian Minister at Belgrade, was well informed as to the secret actions of the Serbian Government and was cognizant of the more important doings of the "Black Hand." It is also significant that at the beginning of the Saloniki trial an appeal was made to the patriotism of the accused men not to refer to the crime of Sarajevo. It is, moreover, of great importance to bear in mind the fact, known already at an earlier date, that a written declaration was demanded from the condemned officers concerning their knowledge of the Sarajevo murder. Dimitrievitch, according to Boghitchevitch, made a declaration "according to which he took upon himself the sole guilt in connection with the assassination," stating at the same time, however, that the Court, the Government, the Russian Minister and the Russian military attaché had been cognizant of the preparations made for the crime. It is conjectured that this document is still in the hands of Ljuba Jovanovitch, who was Minister at the time.

In order to form a correct judgment of the Pan-Serbian propaganda and of the Sarajevo crime, it is essential to read this book. Pashitch's own opinion of the "Black Hand" is expressed in the following strictly confidential report sent to the Prince Regent: "No Cabinet Minister can fulfill his duties with any feeling of security until he is liberated from men who, besides their oath of loyalty to King and State, are bound by an oath to a secret organization which makes it their duty to sacrifice the interests of the State to the interests of this society. It is impossible to guarantee the responsibility of the Government if there are among the State officials men who, loyal to the oath they have sworn to the organization, feel bound to inform this organization of all steps taken by the authorities. We are all of opinion that the law must forbid people entering such a society." With this judgment which, of course, ought to have been passed on the "Black Hand" in 1914, after the crime of Sarajevo, Pashitch has best shown how logically the Austro-Hungarian Government acted in 1914 when it resolved itself to undertake the task of extinguishing the fires of conspiracy that had their centre in Belgrade.

Brief Book Reviews

BRITISH DOCUMENTS ON THE ORIGINS OF THE WAR, 1898-1914. Vols. I and II. From the Occupation of Kiao-Chau to the Making of the Anglo-French Entente, December, 1897-April, 1904. Edited by G. P. Gooch and Harold Temperley with the assistance of Lillian M. Penson. New York: British Library of Information. \$3.00 each volume.

These two volumes are the result of the decision taken by Ramsay MacDonald when at the head of the British Government to publish a selection from the British Foreign Office documents dealing with the origins of the World War. The whole work is under the editorship of G. P. Gooch and Harold Temperley. The eleventh and concluding volume, containing the documents on the outbreak of war (June 28-Aug. 4, 1914), and edited by J. W. Headlam-Morley, has already been published (and reviewed in *CURRENT HISTORY*, March, 1927, pp. 844-851). Turning to the volumes now before us, we learn from the foreword that "it was decided to begin with the year 1898, in view of the fact that certain influential members of the British Cabinet, alarmed by the hostility of France and Russia, then desired to substitute a policy of alliances for the traditional principle of 'splendid isolation.' It was felt, however, that the years covered in the first two volumes could be treated in a more summary fashion than would be desirable after 1904." Nevertheless, the most significant occurrences, such as the formation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Franco-British Entente, have been treated in great detail. The next eight volumes, covering the period between 1904-1914, will deal with the events of those years in still more ample fashion. Of the value of this large collection of British diplomatic papers there is hardly any need to speak. They are as indispensable to the study of modern history as the official documents made available by other nations that became involved in the World War.

ANNUAIRE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS, 1920-1927. (Year Book of the League of Nations). Edited by Georges Ottlik. Geneva: Les Editions de Genève. (The Geneva Publishing Co.).

This is the first issue of an extremely valuable year book. Although not an official publication of the League of Nations, Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary General, authorized the members of the Secretariat to assist M. Ottlik in compiling the material on which it is based. The volume of over a thousand pages is packed with information of every kind that relates to the organization and activities of the League and of the various advisory and executive bodies that have been set up to enable the objects of the League to be carried out. M. Ottlik's work takes its place immediately as an indispensable reference book in the field of international affairs. It seems, however, that there should also be an edition in English for the benefit of those who do not read French.

READINGS IN RECENT AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY, 1876-1926. Edited by Albert Johnson and William A. Robinson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$4.00.

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THE PEACEMAKERS OF 1864. By Edward C. Kirkland. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

"The history of the Civil War would still be incomplete unless attention was directed to a conflict not waged upon the battlefields but behind the lines, where a host of various opinions met in a struggle as merciless and bitter as if fought with arms," writes Mr. Kirkland. "The task of reconciling these differences of opinion, of creating and sustaining a united desire for war—in short, the problem of public morale—was a vital factor in the Civil War." This book should be a revelation to those who hold the popular notion that the North formed a united front behind the policy of Abraham Lincoln. On the contrary, as Mr. Kirkland shows, there were many Northerners who had always opposed the war, who wanted immediate peace and were willing to make great efforts to achieve it, either by treason or by the ballot box, and these under-cover movements reached critical proportions during the campaign of 1864. Horace Greeley, the three Blairs and the unbalanced William Cornell Jewett who called a peace conference at Niagara Falls, are some of the interesting personalities described by Mr. Kirkland. It is a book deserving of a wide audience.

COMMUNISM. By Harold J. Laski. (Home University Library of Modern Knowledge). New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.00.

This is an excellent brief account of Communism by a distinguished professor of political science in the University of London. "No book on Communism," he says in his preface, "can hope to be impartial, for its problems are too urgent not to involve some bias, however unconscious. I can only say that I have sought so to state the Communist 'theses' upon the topics I have discussed that its own advocates would (as I hope) recognize that even an opponent can state them fairly." As a reasoned criticism, Professor Laski's book is well worth reading by all who wish to discover what are the real misconceptions underlying Communist doctrine.

EMPIRE SETTLEMENT. By Sir John A. R. Marriott. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. \$1.00.

"If every inch of ground in Great Britain were to be cultivated, it would give one and one-third acres per head of population, it being reckoned that three acres per head are necessary for comfortable subsistence." This, in brief, is Great Britain's most pressing problem, as Sir John Marriott sees it. However, Australia and Canada have only two persons to the square mile, South Africa ten and New

Zealand eleven. Moreover, these lands are rich in untouched natural resources. The problem of "empire settlement" is therefore to bring the manpower and the material together. This small volume outlines some of the steps that have been taken to accomplish this, such as the Salvation Army schemes, Dr. Barnardo's homes, and so forth, and the difficulties that have been encountered. The author states, however, in the preface: "The book does not pretend to offer more than an introduction to a large subject, which I hope hereafter to treat more fully."

STATESMANSHIP OR WAR. By Brigadier General John McAuley Palmer. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. \$2.50.

"History is full of proof that offensive armament provokes war, and it is equally full of proof that the lack of defensive armament invites war," asserts General Palmer. "The way to world peace lies between the Scylla of militarism and the Charybdis of pacifism." Accordingly, he advocates what may be termed "preventive armament"—armament sufficient to inspire a wholesome respect but not burdensome or provocative of undue competition. In other words, a system that does not entail a standing army but which would "train all male citizens for service and sort out and develop the natural leaders." General Palmer cites the Swiss military system as an example of the successful application of this idea; the organization there was such that during the World War, "from a population about that of Massachusetts, a completely appointed modern army of 300,000 men was mobilized in four days." The volume has an introduction by United States Senator James W. Wadsworth Jr., in which he tells of General Palmer's notable service in assisting to frame the National Defense Act in 1920.

AN AMERICAN SOLDIER AND DIPLOMAT: HORACE PORTER. By Elsie Porter Mende. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$5.00.

The pre-war diplomatic world, with its pageantry and its formal customs that are fast passing into oblivion, comes to life again in this biography of General Horace Porter, who was Ambassador to France during the years 1897-1905, a most critical period in American diplomatic history, when our war with Spain came near precipitating a Franco-American crisis, which was averted in large part by General Porter's influence. Seen through the sympathetic and comprehending eyes of his daughter, General Porter's four-score years as soldier, business man, writer, orator and diplomat make an extraordinarily interesting narrative, which includes "intimate glimpses" of such personages as the Kaiser, the Czar of Russia, the Sultan of Turkey and others. Mrs. Mende chose an able collaborator in the person of Professor Henry Greenleaf Pearson, whose influence is apparent in the scholarly presentation of the documentary material.

THE AMERICANIZATION OF LABOR. The Employers' Offensive Against the Trades Unions. By Robert W. Dunn. New York: International Publishers. \$1.90.

This book is written from the labor standpoint for the purpose of describing "some of the 'newer' as well as some of the 'older' defenses—and offensives—of capitalism," dealing "primarily with the tactics of the corporations since the World War." During this period, the author states, "the American trade-union movement has received heavy direct

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blows from the organized employers," and "it has also been attacked from other angles and in more subtle ways." As evidence in support of his contentions, Mr. Dunn describes the "American Plan—the term the employers use to designate the open or non-union shop," the drive for the open shop, the methods of employers' organizations and the various black lists, "labor spy" and strikebreaking systems. He then proceeds to analyze "company unions" and the many-sided welfare activities of employers from his standpoint, which assumes that they are part and parcel of an elaborate system to undermine and challenge the existence of trade unions in this country. Mr. Dunn urges that the only way to meet the danger is to unionize the non-union workers and to organize a labor party representing the interests of the working class. The book has undoubted value as an able and well documented exposition of the labor standpoint on one of the most perplexing controversies of our time, and will therefore repay careful study by both upholders and opponents of the author's frank statement of his views.

SCIENCE: *THE FALSE MESSIAH.* By C. E. Ayres. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$3.00.

That science has its limitations, no one will deny, but in writing this book Mr. Ayres, despite his frequent little felicities of expression and his debater's ability to make points, has performed a feat of intellectual gymnastics that is much more clever than convincing. Modern science, we are told, is only a new kind of folklore, and whatever credit it is entitled to "rests wholly upon its connection with machine technology, of which it is a part." Even after eliminating all that is tentative or spurious, to dismiss science in such summary fashion seems to suggest that Mr. Ayres is either not quite serious or that his conception of science is peculiar to himself. On the other hand, his references to industrial development are often suggestive and give rise to the regret that he did not more thoroughly deal with science from the standpoint of the social historian. As far as we know, there is no adequate history of science and invention written along the lines of modern historical scholarship. To have undertaken such a work would have been more valuable than to try to establish a conclusion which, even if true, is of doubtful importance.

THAMILLA (*The Turtle Dove*): A Story of the Mountains of Algeria. By Ferdinand Duchêne. Translated by Isabelle May and Emily M. Newton. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. \$1.75.

M. Duchêne, the author of this novel, which was awarded the Grand Prix Littéraire d'Algier, gained much of his material for it from his experience as Justice of the Court of Appeals in Algiers. In fact, for every episode in the book, he asserts that he can cite "references, testimonies and court judgments." *Thamilla* is a telling exposition of the position of the women of Kabylia, who have practically no legal rights; in fact, there is a saying of the country: "You may make of your wife anything you like except a corpse." Women own no property; they are sold in marriage without right of choice; their husbands can repudiate them whenever they please without being obliged to give a reason; any children belong to the father. The book is a terrible picture of the workings of this barbarous system in the life of one poor girl with whose case M. Duchêne became familiar in his capacity as Jus-

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tice, but was unable to save, as the French have agreed not to interfere in any customs and laws touching the exercise of the Moslem religion.

THE SHAPING OF ENGLISH LITERATURE: and the Reader's Share in the Development of its Forms. By Amy Cruse. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. \$3.50.

"In the making of a country's literature, two classes of people are concerned—the writers and the readers; and though the writers must of necessity take the more important part, the readers are not without influence," says Mrs. Cruse. "What they ask for the writers take care to supply." Approaching the subject from this somewhat novel angle, the writer tells the story of English readers from the days of the Saxon scop and gleemen to the end of the eighteenth century, showing how, in each period, the spoken or written word reached the audience for which it was intended and how the consciousness of that audience influenced the author.

REMINISCENCES OF SERVICE AND ADVENTURE: A Record of Sixty-five Years. By Major General A. W. Greely. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.50.

General Greely's long life (he is now in his eighty-third year) has been chiefly spent in public service. He enlisted in the Union Army at the age of seventeen and served all through the Civil War, taking part in some of the severest engagements, such as Antietam and Fredericksburg. The most notable achievement of his career was his command of the Greely Arctic Expedition of 1881-84, which gathered much important scientific data. The party, of which only seven members survived, underwent terrible hardships, which are vividly described in this narrative. The author's preface is perhaps the best brief description of this volume: "With no attempt at literary display, it sets forth the varied activities of a native American, a man of the masses—non-collegiate in education, without private income, favored by no political influence—whose ancestors for nine generations labored with their hands in New England."

CHINA AND FOREIGN POWERS. A Historical Review of Their Relations. By Sir Frederick Whyte, K. C. S. I. New York: Oxford University Press. \$1.00.

This brief yet comprehensive review was prepared for the Second Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the proceedings of which were discussed in October CURRENT HISTORY. As the work was done under the auspices of the British Royal Institute of International Affairs, this in itself is a guarantee of its accuracy. The full texts of several significant documents, including Dr. Sun's will and the program of the Cantonese, are appended.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE: A Study in Solitude. By Herbert Gorman. **UPTON SINCLAIR:** A Study in Social Protest. By Floyd Dell. New York: George H. Doran Company. \$2.00 each.

These two volumes are the first in a series entitled the Murray Hill Biographies; studies of Emerson, Robert Frost, O. Henry, Louisa Alcott and Amy Lowell, are now in preparation. The "why and wherefore" of the series, as stated by the publishers, is as follows: "Hitherto books of biography in general have been the result of the personal enthusiasm of the individual writer for his subject, whether



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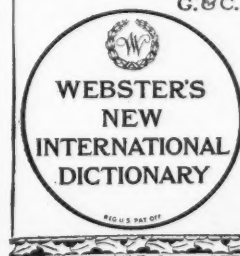
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THE ENGLISH NOVEL. By Alan C. Valentine. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. \$1.00.

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Further biographical material by a competent and painstaking scholar. Deals with Lincoln's relations to his women kinsfolk and to Ann Rutledge, Mary Owens and Mary Todd.

BENT, SILAS—Ballyhoo: The Voice of the Press. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1927. \$3.00.

A severe criticism of our present newspaper press by a former newspaper man.

BRADFORD, GAMALIEL.—D. L. Moody, a Worker in Souls. New York: Doran, 1927. \$3.50.

An analytical and interpretative account of the leading evangelist of the Eighties and Nineties.

BURR, ANNA ROBESON.—The Portrait of a Banker, James Stillman, 1850-1918. New York: Duffield, 1927. \$3.00.

Another contribution to the history of American business. With Morgan and Harriman. Mr. Stillman for many years was a controlling force in American finance.

BUXTON, M. ALINE.—Kenya Days. London: Arnold, 1927. 12s. 6d.

An interesting and frequently amusing account of the life of the white Colonists and of excursions among the native tribes. It is burdened neither by economic nor ethnologic data.

CALLWELL, SIR C. E.—Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson. His Life and Diaries. With a Preface by Marshal Foch. New York: Scribner, 1927. 2 vols. \$15.00.

A picturesque, if at times indiscreet, record of the life of the great English soldier, who, throughout his whole life, was preparing him-

self for the contest which seemed to him inevitable.

COOPER, CLAYTON S.—*Latin America—Men and Markets*. Boston: Ginn, 1927. \$3.00.

An explanation of Latin-American business methods written in an attempt to promote a more intelligent attitude on the part of those who seek for South American trade.

DARROW, CLARENCE S. AND YARROS, VICTOR S.—*The Prohibition Mania, a Reply to Professor Irving Fisher and others*. New York: Live-right, 1927. \$2.50.

A forceful presentation of the case against prohibition.

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE FORMATION OF THE UNION OF THE AMERICAN STATES. Washington: Library of Congress, 1927. \$2.85.

An extensive collection, covering over eleven hundred pages, of the most important documents relating to our early national history. Contains much new material which has come to light since the publication of the Documentary History of the Constitution, thirty-two years ago.

DOW, GEORGE FRANCIS.—*Slave Ships and Slaving*. Salem, Mass.; Marine Research Soc., 1927. \$7.50.

An account, based on contemporary sources, of the slave trade as conducted by English and American seamen. Narrative and description rather than a history.

EBRAY, ALCIDE.—*A Frenchman Looks at the Peace*; trans. by E. W. Dickes. New York: Knopf, 1927. \$4.00.

A French journalist and diplomat criticizes the Peace treaty as being in violation of the preliminary agreements and as being fundamentally unjust in content and application.

FRENCH, WILLIAM.—*Some Recollections of a Western Ranchman*. London: Methuen, 1927. 10s. 6d.

Life in the cattle country from 1883 to 1899. A first-hand narrative by an Irish gentleman, describing his contests with "bad men" and Indians, and a successful struggle with frontier conditions.

GEORGE III.—*The Correspondence of King George the Third. From 1760 to 1783. Arranged and Edited by Hon. Sir John Fortescue, vol. 1-2*. New York: Macmillan, 1927. \$8.00 each.

A selection of the letters written by and to the King, which throws much new light on the history of the Eighteenth Century. They relate almost entirely to matters of business, those of a more personal character being excluded. Six volumes are to be published.

HASBROUCK, PAUL D.—*Party Government in the House of Representatives*. New York: Macmillan, 1927. \$2.25.

A discussion of present legislative methods in the House and their evolution following the revolt against "Cannonism" in 1908.

HUNTINGTON, ELLSWORTH.—*The Human Habitat*. New York: Van Nostrand, 1927. \$3.00.

"The present book is an attempt to give the layman a true idea of human geography as interpreted by the American school of geographers." Preface. Human life as affected by geographic conditions.

JOHNSON, GERALD W.—*Andrew Jackson; an Epic in Homespun*. New York: Minton, Balch, 1927. \$3.50.

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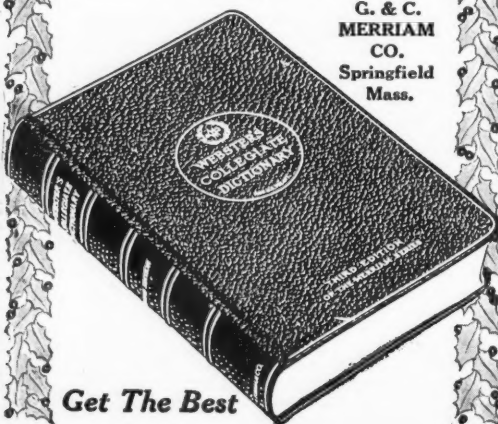
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MENDE, ELSIE PORTER.—*An American Soldier
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Porter was a General in the Civil War, a
Secretary to President Grant, for twenty-four
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in New York and from 1897 to 1905 Ambassa-
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YOUNG, GEORGE.—*Egypt*. New York: Scribner,
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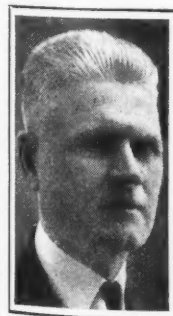
TO AND FROM OUR READERS

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Milton Offutt, who permanently joins the Board of Current History Associates with this issue of the magazine, was born in Baltimore, Md., on March 19, 1899. He entered Princeton University in October, 1916, and on March 21, 1917, he enlisted in the United States Naval Reserve Force. After serving in the Mine Force, Second Naval District, and abroad in the United States Torpedo Boat Morris, he was discharged from the naval service on March 23, 1919, with the rating of Chief Quartermaster. Returning to Princeton, Mr. Offutt was graduated from that university in 1921 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. From July, 1921, until August, 1923, he was a member of the Editorial Staff of *The Evening Sun*, Baltimore. In October, 1923, he entered the graduate school of the Johns Hopkins University and in March, 1925, was appointed Assistant in History, and a year later Instructor in History.

N. Andrew N. Clevon, Professor of History at the University of Pittsburgh, has accepted the post of Current History Associate in charge of South America, in succession to Professor Harry T. Collings of the University of Pennsylvania, who, owing to increasing pressure of other work, has resigned. Professor Clevon is a graduate of the University of Chicago and has also studied at the Universities of Berlin, Paris, Bonn, Grenoble, Munich, Columbia, California and Minnesota. He has spent many years in travel and study in Europe and South America. He has been official representative of the University of



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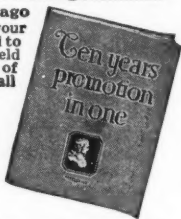
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PROFESSOR HART VS. PROFESSOR SHOTWELL

To the Editor of Current History:

The controversy between the eminent Professors Hart and Shotwell, in the pages of CURRENT HISTORY, has its funny side, but seriously it does suggest two opposing states of mind which have impressed themselves rather clearly on the writer.

Professor Shotwell has been trying to work out a program by which the nations which want to be peaceful may find it easier to live peacefully among themselves and with their neighbors. Professor Hart seems to have contented himself with finding fault with Professor Shotwell. He complains that it is not fair to regard opposing or criticizing any movement for national peace as an evidence of a preference for war. If, however, one criticizes every such movement and offers no constructive suggestions himself, it can hardly be wondered that such a person's peaceful proclivities may be questioned. Has Professor Hart any constructive program to offer? He asserts that such plans as Professor Shotwell's can be made to work only with intelligent nations. Why not let them, then, be adopted by the nations which are in the proper frame of mind instead of objecting to the whole proposition?

Professor Hart objects to Professor Shotwell's proposed treaty on the ground that it ignores civil war. One might reasonably ask, however, if any plan could be devised which would prevent civil wars. They are entirely domestic concerns. The development of an anti-war spirit between nations would certainly help to reduce civil war sentiment within nations. Let us not throw away the entire program simply because it cannot meet every imaginable situation.

Professor Hart makes two dogmatic assertions, the first of which is, to say the least, surprising. He declares that every war fought by the United States was contrary to existing public law and precedent. If that is true, patriotic Americans may justly be led to question their own country's honor. It can hardly be imagined that one nation can be right and all the rest of the world wrong in the case of seven serious conflicts. In spite of Professor Hart I am convinced that much of the world agreed with America some of the time.

Professor Hart also declares that more than half the world's population would rather fight

than arbitrate on any serious question in which they are deeply concerned. Neither he nor a critic of his could possibly have any statistics that would warrant dogmatism on that point. Such a feeling as he expresses is responsible for the "it can't be done" attitude which is back of some of the sincere objections to world peace programs. Pessimism can hardly make for progress. Professor Shotwell's hopefulness is much more encouraging than Professor Hart's critical attitude, and I am ready to believe it is not less sensible.

R. O. HUGHES.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

MONTENEGRO SPEAKS

To the Editor of Current History:

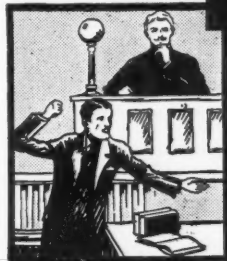
I was pleased to see that CURRENT HISTORY, in its August issue laid a few of the facts of World War events in the Balkans before its readers. There are a surprising number of histories of modern European diplomacy on the market in which the authors appeared to set out deliberately to mislead the public in regard to the illegal annexation of Montenegro by Serbia. Montenegro was bullied out of existence at the close of the war by the joint pressure of Serbia and France. It pleased the one to grab more land in accordance with the "Greater Serbia" idea, and the other to prevent Italy's expansion (?) on the Adriatic. A free people, proud of their 500 years of independence, were thus snuffed out of nationhood by their grateful friends and allies while the rest of the world looked the other way. Ever since, the cowardly historians, with few exceptions, have taken the stand that might is right, and that because Montenegro is too small to warrant another World War, she is too small to warrant a truthful statement of her betrayal.

R. B. Mowat, in his *History of European Diplomacy*, published by Arnold, says that Lovchen was surrendered by the Montenegrins with "surprising ease." He forgets to mention that a Serbian, General Petar Peshich, was responsible for this and all other military events in Montenegro, as King Nicholas generously handed over his army to the Serbs at the beginning of the war in order to secure co-operation against the common enemy, Austria. He forgets to say that 700 men (Montenegrins) had to hold Kuk (Lovchen) against an attacking force of 25,000. Even then it took three days and two nights to dislodge them. But this, evidently, is not long enough to suit the historians.

If Montenegro did not have a claw at her throat and a cannon at her breast, she could tell things that would make the twentieth century blush to be called "enlightened," but for ten years the voice of truth has been silenced, and only the well-paid politicians have had a



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[Prince Milo is a nephew of the late King Nicholas and a cousin of the Queen of Italy.]

WAS DARWIN RIGHT?

To the Editor of Current History:

There is a difference between studying the physical structure of the living creature of today and the question, "How came these living things to live at all?" This last is the question the professional evolutionist assumes to answer. Sir Arthur Keith, at a recent meeting of the British Scientific Association, said that he spoke as the foreman of a jury of learned men in saying that Darwin's notion of the ancestry and pedigree of man is established. And yet he made admissions that throw his story out of court.

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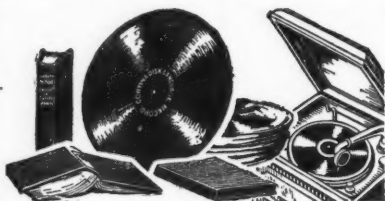
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CHIEF JUSTICE WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

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The Nation-Wide Campaign to Reduce Crime

By WATSON DAVIS

MANAGING EDITOR, SCIENCE SERVICE, WASHINGTON

FOR centuries the wheels of justice have ground out vindictive punishment to expiate and compensate society for the wrong-doings of criminals. The realization that crime is a social disorder needing treatment, not mere scourging, is the growth of a very few years. Sitting as social physicians, attempting to view the crime situation as a complicated disease of society rather than a multitude of troublesome and sporadic outbreaks of devils, the National Conference on the Reduction of Crime, which was held in Washington on Nov. 2 and 3, 1927, at the call of the National Crime Commission, emphasized this new attitude toward the criminal.

Most encouraging in the efforts toward the reduction of crime is the growing realization that this problem is one for the investigator and researcher as well as for the policeman and judge. The world has always been afflicted with wrong-doers and it is probable that the criminal will always be with us. But just as the medicine man, the witch doctor and shaman of savage cultures have been replaced by the physician, surgeon and psychiatrist of modern civilization, so the "eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth" doctrine of medieval justice is being superseded in modern courts and prisons by sane and scientific remedial procedure.

The campaign against crime has one ob-

ject from the standpoint of society. The public must be protected; it must have its life and property safeguarded. Despite the increase in population and the aggregation of many people into limited areas, such as occurs in our large cities, murders, hold-ups, robberies and petty thefts, as well as the less violent offenses, must be reduced and curbed. The need of this essential protection of the public has long been recognized and has, of course, been at the base of all methods of policing and the punishment of crime.

The idea of looking at the criminal much as a doctor looks upon his patient is an essentially new idea in the handling of the crime problem. The criminal is one socially diseased and a surprisingly large percentage of those placed under arrest and brought before the court are actually diseased from the medical standpoint. To the recognition that mental disorder plays a large part in the creation of criminals must be attributed much of the progress that has been made in the handling of the delinquent.

The State of Massachusetts has pioneered in bringing into practice the psychiatric examination of prisoners as an aid in their control and reform. For the past six years there has been in effect in that State the so-called Briggs law, which provides that a board of psychiatrists shall

examine any individual indicted for a capital offense or any one indicted a second time for a felony. This important innovation was naturally the subject for discussion at the National Crime Commission Conference. The author of the law, Dr. L. Vernon Briggs, a leading psychiatrist of Boston, explained to the conference the conditions and events leading to the passage of the law and the way in which it now operates:

Before this law was passed the procedure employed in ascertaining the mental responsibility of persons accused of crime was almost inconceivably futile, cruel and wasteful. Hardly a day passed and certainly never a week without the spectacle in some one of our courts, of two or more physicians, possibly graduates of the same medical school and belonging to the same scientific and medical societies, pitted against each other, testifying to diametrically opposite opinions as to the mental condition and responsibility of the person in question.

The press seized upon this condition of affairs to subject the psychiatric specialist to ridicule. A jury, often with some members of very low mental calibre, sat as judges to decide complicated medical questions, frequently involving the life of a human being. Often the conflicting testimony of two eminent psychiatrists so confused the jury that they threw out all the medical evidence. Seldom did they get an unbiased scientific opinion, for no sooner had one side employed an expert in mental disease than the other invariably engaged another scientist, of whom there were plenty to be found who could be employed to offset their rival's testimony.

For years it had been the desire of the medical men in our State to remove from their profession the stigma occasioned by the acts of these few men—for my criticism of expert testimony does not apply to the great majority of physicians who refuse to be employed in any case where they are not permitted to express their honest scientific opinion. As expert for many years on important murder and will cases in our courts I had seen the expense to which the State was being put for the employment of alienists, as well as the expense to the family of the accused, which frequently they could ill afford, and in murder trials the expense of the whole trial often amounted to as much as \$20,000 to \$30,000, which I believed could be saved if a proper law were enacted.

Then, to me as to many others, the humanitarian aspect was really the most important factor, especially when the accused was mentally distraught and was obliged to listen to the testimony of the experts concerning delusions, hallucinations, &c., day after day, before it was decided by a jury of laymen whether he was mentally ill or not. On the one hand the contentious method which has been used in the past in Massachusetts and is today being utilized in other jurisdictions, opened the door to the possible execution of mentally ill persons and made it equally easy for persons acquitted because of "insanity" to

be shortly thereafter returned to society, although dangerous.

The Briggs law met opposition from judges, clerks of the court and attorneys when it was first proposed, but in the six years of its operation the realization has grown on the part of the court, jury and public that the unbiased and scientific administration of the law by the State's psychiatrists aids rather than defeats the ends of justice. No longer are doctors pitted one against the other during a sensational trial. Matters of medicine are decided by those competent instead of by uninformed and inexpert juries and judges. Thousands of dollars have been saved, not only to the State but to the defendants, and mentally sick offenders, instead of being executed or punished by imprisonment and then, perhaps, turned loose in a few years in an irresponsible condition to commit further crimes, are placed in hospitals either to remain there where they can do no harm or to undergo treatment and eventual recovery.

MENTALLY DEFICIENT CRIMINALS

The operation of the Briggs law in Massachusetts has been so successful that New York is considering the adoption of such a law and there is agitation in Great Britain and Belgium for a similar measure. The injection of the mental expert into every case of moment roused the fears of some that an unduly large number of the criminals might be classed as mentally deficient. In fact, although the number of mentally deficient in the criminal classes is larger than in the general run of the population, only 21 per cent. of those examined in Massachusetts under the Briggs law were diagnosed as definitely abnormal in mentality.

This procedure of allowing the physician to act as the adviser to the judge in a criminal case is but the first step in placing the treatment of the criminal upon a scientific basis. Eventually the court will write an individual prescription for each individual criminal case, just as the doctor today considers each illness upon its own merits and prescribes for it individually. The shot-gun prescription in law is doomed, just as it is in medicine. Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, medical director of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York, summarized this attitude for the conference in the following words:

There is but one excuse for law of any kind—to protect the individual from the

group and the group from the individual who, by his conduct, injures the group. Courts are for but one purpose—to determine when an individual has injured a group by transgressing the law and to take steps to see that this transgression does not occur again. The question then arises as to what steps the court may take to assure itself that the crime will not be repeated. Obviously, this will depend entirely upon the kind of individual the convicted person is. As the individuals coming before a court are as various in intelligence, emotional make-up, character and personality traits, educational and social backgrounds and experience, and in the presence or absence of disease, either mental or physical, as any group could possibly be, it is apparent that the same prescription for all will not bring equal results. The courts are not treating one disease "crime," for which there is one remedy, but almost as many different complex and complicated conditions as there are individuals before them. A hospital staff would be considered ridiculous if they went no further in their understanding of individuals than to call each one who came to them a "patient" and then prescribed the same remedy for all. So well established are the facts as to the wide differences between persons convicted of crime that no one seriously questions that it is the criminal and not the crime that must be attended to and that remedies must be found to fit the criminal.

The American Institute for Criminal Law and Criminology, the International Prison Congress and the American Psychiatric Association, all representative associations of lawyers, psychiatrists and criminologists, have carefully studied the matter and are in agreement as to where the emphasis must be placed in criminology. The question remains of obtaining for the court unprejudiced, accurate, technical knowledge of the criminal, which can guide the court in determining the course to be pursued in the criminal's rehabilitation. There exists nowhere a laboratory of such complex human material as a court room. The judge unaided can no more be expected with any degree of accuracy to differentiate between the human material before him than he could be expected to differentiate between pure water and water containing typhoid bacilli by looking at it or tasting it. The facts he needs cannot be obtained through the "expert witness" hypothetical question and medico-legal dueling over such words as "insanity," "responsibility," or other legal or metaphysical speculations. There is no more difficult question to solve than the mental status, mental mechanisms or capabilities of a prisoner and the bearing these may or may not have upon his conduct and the possibility of his rehabilitation. All the resources of modern psychiatry and psychology are necessary and these should be available to the court through the possibility of the appointment of psychiatrists from a qualified list, who shall be given opportunity for thorough psychiatric examination, using such aids as psychiatrists customarily use in practice, clinics, hospitals, &c., with obligatory written reports and a remuneration from public funds. With such data, as unprejudiced and scientific as it is now humanly possible to

make it, before him, the court can determine with some expectation of success the precise treatment that he will prescribe for the individual prisoner. This process allows of no "letting off" of the prisoner on the ground of an actual or supposed "irresponsibility." The process is not primarily in the interest of the prisoner, but in the interest of the social group, there being but one end in view—the protection of the group from any further attacks by the prisoner. In the end it does help the prisoner, of course, in that being understood and properly treated it either assists him to rehabilitate himself or provides for him the custodial care that his condition requires. The interests of both are, therefore, served.

CHIEF JUSTICE TAFT'S PROPOSALS

There was, however, a note of dissent from this view in Chief Justice Taft's speech at one of the gatherings during the conference, when he said:

Without examining closely the statutes proposed and partly carried through by Senator Baumes and his associates, it seems to me that they indicate that the forgotten man, the victim of the murderer and the robber and the criminal, as well as society at large, is being remembered in the new legislation in New York. We are all in favor, of course, of measures which will induce criminals to become law-abiding citizens, but we must never forget that the chief and first object of prosecution of crime is its deterrent effect upon future would-be criminals in the protection of society. We must not allow our interest in criminals to go to the point of making effective prosecution of crime and its punishment subordinate to schemes for reform of criminals, however admirable they may be.

Our system of criminal prosecution suffers, because we have not throughout the States an adequate police force who can apprehend criminals and bring them to justice. We need more policemen in most cities and we need more constables in the rural regions of the States. We need legislation to secure prompter information or indictment and prompter trial. We need legislation to reduce as much as possible the opportunities of counsel for convicted men to delay a review and final disposition of the cases. We need legislation that shall render impossible new trials except for real injustice in a trial.

We need legislation to enlarge the power of the judges to guide the trial and to help the jury in understanding the evidence and in reaching its conclusions upon the evidence. This means that the law should not prevent the charge of the court from being enlightening and clarifying. It should obviate the camouflage that is so often created in a court room by the skill and histrionic ability of the counsel. We must trust somebody in the supervision of the trial and that somebody must be and should be the judge. The procedure and rules of evidence should not be such that the lawyers can weave a web to trip the trial judge, which an upper court by reason of technical rules would have to set aside. Neither the English judges nor the judges of the Federal court are restricted in the aid which they can

give the jury to enable it to understand the real issues and to weigh evidence intelligently. But judges are more restricted in other courts. The truth is that the American people in many States have distrusted the judges and preferred to let the juries wander about through a wilderness of evidence without judicial suggestion or guide and often to become subject to an unfair and perverted presentation by counsel of the evidence, leading to a defeat of justice.

The chance of conviction of innocent persons by a jury of twelve men, of course, by judicial conduct and tyranny must be minimized by fair review on appeal. But the danger is not sufficiently great to require that the reins should be thrown on the back of the jurors to follow their own sweet will in their conclusions. They constitute the tribunal to pass on the facts and they are the ultimate judge of the facts. But the judge is there and it should be his sworn duty with his experience to help the jury to consider and analyze the evidence and weigh it with common sense.

There will have to be a further examination of the methods by which jurors are selected. The method of selection ought not to be such that counsel for the defendants by exclusion of worthy citizens from the panel can choose jurors of weak intelligence, of little experience and subject to emotions easily aroused. Exemptions from jury service ought to be cut down and society ought to be able to secure a jury that approaches the issues with a sense of its obligation to enforce the law without fear or favor and with intelligence enough to learn from the judge what the law is and to weigh the evidence with reference to its violation. It is not an easy reform, but I am very confident that with the people aroused as they are on this subject and with their energy and attention and criticism directed to the legislatures such progress can be made.

Returning to the comparison of the crime and health situations we find one striking analogy. No health department would consider that it could most effectively combat an epidemic of smallpox without knowing where the smallpox cases existed, how many there were and what sort of people contracted the disease. One of the major health activities of the Federal and State Governments is the collection of morbidity and mortality statistics. Real progress has been made in making figures upon these and health reliable, although even today there are still eight States without proper birth registration and six States without proper death registration within the United States.

LACK OF CRIME STATISTICS

The statistics upon crime are, however, in a much sorrier condition. The discussion of an adequate statistical basis for the treatment of crime revealed to the National Crime Commission Conference

that there is a virtual absence of statistics upon crime. We do know the population of our penal institutions, the number of major bank robberies and there are fairly adequate records of the spectacular crimes, executions and offenses. A mere beginning of the collection of adequate crime statistics has been made by the United States Department of Justice. Professor Raymond Morley of Columbia University summarized what needed to be known as follows:

We want to know more than we now know concerning the number of crimes that are reported to public authorities in this country. That is the measure of crime. We want to know what happens to those who are arrested. We want to know what happens to these cases that are thus initiated. We want to know how many drop out in preliminary hearings. We want to know how many drop out in the next stage. Then after we know these few simple facts, we want to cross-reference them and correlate them in order to determine, so far as possible, what degree of efficiency our agencies for the prosecution of criminals are attaining. We want to know more about our prisoners. We want to know more about the operation of parole. We want to know more about the operation of probation. We can not just thoughtlessly discredit these new agencies for correction. We must know more about what they have done.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS NEEDED

The serious lack of a basis upon which to predicate a better attack upon crime caused the conference to adopt resolutions looking toward a national movement to bring together crime statistics and data for criminal identification upon an adequate scale. The essential uniformity of all criminal statistics was urged. The importance of having the country's extensive fingerprint and other identification records properly correlated with and made a part of these records was also stressed. The launching of a practical effort toward bringing about the collection and analysis of crime statistics will be the purpose of a permanent committee of the commission, which will solicit the aid of the State and local crime prevention organizations and the governmental agencies in this necessary activity.

As an example of what such a crime statistical survey might show, a study made of Detroit's records was presented. The Detroit Department of Government Research found that an equivalent of one-tenth of the male population of that city is placed under arrest during a year. Many of these arrests are for minor offenses and never reach court. There are twice

as many offenders from the age group 17 to 29 as for the whole population. Single men figure three times as often on the police blotter as married men and for robbery by violence, for instance, the matrimonially foot-loose male is arrested six times as often as the married man. The crime record analysis showed that certain types of crime in Detroit are centred in a given group of its population, allowing the authorities to get at the seat of the trouble instead of the mere symptom. There is no reason to believe that a study of the crime of other cities would produce less helpful results, while an adequate record for the whole country would probably permit of national measures of great benefit.

One difficulty in the study of crime statistics is the fact that there are nearly as many ways to classify crimes as there are police departments. When the collection of health statistics was in its early stages the standardization of nomenclature and classification was one of the major problems. Only in the last few years has there emerged through the efforts of the Health Section of the League of Nations an international accord in the matter of the names and classifications of diseases. This problem is still to be solved in the field of criminology.

Much of the discussion of crime today is caused by belief that the twentieth century has brought bigger and worse crimes and more of them. Without statistics this question can not be answered and probably never will be settled. Opinions are, however, sometimes of value. William A. Stewart, director of the Bureau of the Census of the United States Department of Commerce, told the conference: "There is a widespread general impression that, accompanying the increase in our population, there has been an alarming increase in crime. It is doubtful whether the number of criminal acts per 100,000 of population has increased as rapidly as some people think, but there is an entire lack of information that will enable us to determine the situation in any one State as compared with another and there is necessarily an entire lack of such data for the whole United States." Richard Washburn Child, Chairman of the National Crime Commission, in his report to the conference, wrote: "The professional criminal, like the professional politician, works constantly year in and year out at his trade. The amateur reformer, both in crime and politics, works for a brief time with bound-

less enthusiasm and then forgets all about it. Periodically the slowly rising tide of crime reaches so high a point as to attract general public attention and the record of the past has been a sporadic, unscientific and pitifully ineffective campaign against crime resulting in little more than a few pieces of crudely prepared legislation and a vast amount of newspaper headlines. We are just passing through one of these periodical agitations against crime, caused not so much by an increase of crime itself as by the startling entrance all over the country into the ranks of criminals of young boys and the spectacular nature of the 'hold-up,' followed in so many cases by reckless and needless murder."

On the other hand, Professor E. H. Sutherland of the Minnesota State University told the conference that in his opinion there is no evidence that young people are comparatively more criminal than a generation ago.

In the past year the National Crime Commission has encouraged the establishment of State and city organizations that would search out the flaws and loop-holes in their local judicial machinery and obtain legislative action to remedy the situations. In that time the number of crime commissions has grown from three to at least the twenty-six that were represented at the Washington conference.

RESTRICTING SALE OF FIREARMS

One of the most effective ways of suppressing certain sorts of crimes is to make it difficult to obtain the instruments needed in committing them. This is the theory at the back of the efforts of the Crime Commission toward the proper and nationwide restriction on the sale and use of firearms. Although many States already have laws on this subject, in the last legislative season firearms restrictive legislation was introduced in twenty-four States. Michigan enacted the most effective legislation of any State, with New Jersey a close second. Rhode Island also passed a pistol bill with real teeth. Penalties against the use of pistols and other provisions which will result in curbing the activities of gunmen were enacted in the States of Vermont, Minnesota, Missouri, Massachusetts and Iowa. Minnesota, oddly enough, while strengthening the pistol law, refused to pass a law requiring machine guns to be licensed. In Montana, Tennessee, Washington, West Virginia, Texas, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, Idaho, New Mexico, Nebraska, Maine, Indiana, Illinois, Georgia,

Arizona, Arkansas and New York pistol legislation was introduced, but failed of passage. The Legislature of Illinois not only refused to enact a law introduced in regard to pistols, but refused to curb in any way the use or possession of machine guns. This might be somewhat surprising unless it is remembered that Cook County is in Illinois.

CURBING THE HABITUAL CRIMINAL

Prevention through fear of the law, most venerable of the theories of crime control, is exemplified in the laws aimed at curbing the habitual criminal. The Baumes law, which was enacted by New York, provides increasingly heavy terms of imprisonment for second and third offenders, and makes the fourth felony punishable by a life sentence. New York's example caused North Dakota, Kansas, Oregon, California and New Jersey to pass laws very nearly as drastic, while Vermont and South Dakota enacted similar legislation.

Combating crime by making the potential criminal afraid is also the method used by the modern vigilance committees organized by bankers to protect their depositories of riches. In Iowa and Illinois there were epidemics of bank robbery, which in many cases were successful and caused loss of life. The authorities, with the aid of the bankers, organized vigilante campaigns, as a result of which thousands of citizens were armed and sworn as deputy sheriffs. In response to an alarm from a bank the citizen-police come to its rescue. This procedure caused an immediate reduction in the attempted bank robberies and vigilante revival is spreading to other States. The vigilante movement had its beginning in the rural districts, where rich and relatively isolated banks are inviting prey for bandits, but the plan is now being extended to the large cities, where crowded streets and the intricate by-ways of tall buildings make it difficult to catch the bandits.

Another way through which the Crime Commission sees a possibility of checking criminal activity is an offensive upon the "fence," the partner of the stick-up man or the robber who selects jewelry, silks, furs, precious metal or less valuable merchandise as his loot. Laws against the sale or the receiving of stolen goods are, of course, on the statute books of every jurisdiction, but in many instances the pen-

alties are evaded by technicalities and the activities of "fence" rings aided by unscrupulous lawyers. The conference was advised to work for more stringent rules governing the sellers of merchandise most likely to be trafficked in by "fences" and changes in the law to lengthen the period after the theft during which possession of stolen goods is considered to be incriminating.

Parole and probation, two relatively modern methods of returning to society convicted criminals before they have expiated their crimes to the exact letter of the judge's sentence, are creating discussion in anti-crime circles. Where the systems are properly administered and the prisoner justifies his early release by good behavior and reform, parole has proved satisfactory. In some cases the privileges have been abused to such an extent that paroled convicts have slipped back into wrong-doing before the parole period is completed. Probation is provided in the judicial mechanism to care for those instances in which the reformation of the individual, despite his conviction, can be accomplished effectively without actual incarceration. Like all other methods of handling criminals, probation and parole should be considered experimental and subject to change when more effective measures are developed.

Criminology is a term that has been so monopolized by the detective trade that it may be confusing to apply it to the whole broad problem of crime prevention, detection and expiation. There should be a term, however, to designate the scientific treatment of the crime problem as contrasted to the purely legalistic attitude that has dominated the courts of the past. Such attempts as are being made to put crime prevention, police and judicial function upon a sound factual and scientific basis cannot help but have a cleansing influence upon the social body. The policeman, the judge, the jury, the warden and the lawyer have their time-honored places in the system of justice. To aid them there now comes upon the scene the psychiatrist, the physician, the sociologist, the psychologist, the educator, the statistician and many other molders of a population which is sorely tried with the necessity of living fairly and happily in the narrow confines of this globe.



The Scientific Treatment of Crime

By HARRY ELMER BARNES

PROFESSOR OF HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY, SMITH COLLEGE

NO topic of contemporary interest is more widely or excitedly discussed at the present time than the alleged menacing crime wave. All types and classes, from distinguished capitalists to clergymen and ex-diplomats, are surging forward with programs for the repression of crime, many, if not most, of which have been tried and found wanting for centuries or millenniums. Yet all this talk is wild and undisciplined. We do not even know that such a thing as a crime wave actually exists at the present time. A striking robbery or murder played up in the public press is taken by the average man to be certain proof of an enormous increase of crimes of violence throughout the nation. As Dean Pound and others have insisted, we have as yet no adequate development of criminal statistics in this country. Hence, we do not actually know whether crime is on the increase, nor are we acquainted with the nature of the crimes which may be increasing or decreasing, together with the areas of notable variation in the rate of their commission. Even the most scientific criminologist finds himself compelled to deal in uncertain generalities and approximations when discussing the problem of the actual increase or decrease of any type of crime in the United States.

Having thus shown the impossibility of dogmatizing upon the matter of the extent, nature and variability of crime in the United States, we may now devote our attention to certain general considerations of criminal science and common sense which it will be necessary to contemplate and absorb before we can use intelligently any body of criminal statistics.

Crime and Modern Civilization—If crime is actually on the increase in this country, it is only what we should expect as a result of the changes in society and culture that have occurred since the scientific and industrial revolutions. Man originated and has spent more than 95 per cent. of his existence in a highly simple environment with relatively few stimuli operating upon him. Today society and civilization have become extremely complex, so that the average citizen is subjected to a greater variety of stimulation (with the resulting increase of

strains and stresses) in one week than his great-grandfather had to encounter in a decade. It is inevitable that these increased strains and stresses should have their effect in producing a breakdown of the less tough and hardy human types. Some increase of crime and degeneracy is bound to result from the growing complexity of contemporary civilization. It is, in the words of Professor Giddings, one of the "costs of progress." Again, the more complex the civilization, the larger the number of activities which must be regulated by law; hence, in contemporary society, there has come to be an ever greater number and variety of human acts which constitute a violation of the law. Therefore, if there is such a thing as a growing crime wave in the country, it is something which we should naturally expect as the outcome of the greater difficulties which an animal that arrived at his present nature in the cave age encounters in attempting to live in modern metropolitan areas in the era of machines and movies.

Changes in Type of Crime—Even without detailed statistics it would appear that there have been certain changes in the nature of crime and criminals in the last generation. The house-prowler and the yeggman have tended to become less common. House-breaking is becoming more dangerous and has become far less remunerative than other comparable types of criminal achievement. It is preferable to snatch away from a messenger a bag of securities or bank notes than to prowl about to filch a few dollars' worth of silver from a dining-room closet. Wildcat stock distribution offers a far more attractive field than the activities of the thug. The age statistics of criminals now convicted seems to indicate that the confirmed lifelong professional criminals and the long enduring criminal gangs are becoming less numerous. The present-day social mobility and multiplicity of contacts make it difficult to hold a youthful criminal gang together for any considerable period of time without having somebody get drunk and "spill the beans," with the resulting necessity for disbandment and scurrying. About the only serious criminal gangs of today are those on a

very large scale, which arrange for the purchase and sale of heavy consignments of stolen merchandise. They usually "fix" the authorities higher up and are extremely difficult to discover or dislodge.

With the change in economic, technological and social conditions, a new, alarming and numerous type of criminal has appeared, namely, the youthful thief and "stick-up" man. Better times have enabled many families to support sons between 16 and 25 without the necessity of work, but have not enabled them to supply those sons with plenty of spending money, automobiles and other necessities of modern sportiveness and successful amorosity. Desire and example serve to suggest the possibility of acquiring money or its convertible equivalent by larceny, robbery or even murder. No inconsiderable proportion of modern crime is committed by such swains, who desire the transportation facilities indispensable to the consummation of a "petting-party" or access to roadhouses and dance halls.

Defects in Police Systems—The conventional exponents of the prevailing system of criminal jurisprudence and penal administration contend that the only way of checking the present "crime wave" is by a further and more intensive application of the existing methods of apprehending, convicting and punishing criminals. Yet it is actually true that it would be difficult through conscious planning to devise any scheme or system more likely to produce frequent, if not invariable, miscarriage of justice and further degradation of the criminal personality.

In the first place, the police system is, for the most part, thoroughly involved in the system of partisan politics and political spoil. While there are in most cities at least some formal provisions for a civil service examination for entrance into the police system, there is little or no technical training required, and even less professional and expert spirit developed. Such of the latter as exists is to a considerable degree actually nullified, because many forms of crime and vice are immune from police intervention through the fact that those thus engaged are able to secure protection by bribery and intrigue with the political machine of the city. Further, by far the greater part of the energy and activities of the police is absorbed in the attention given to the supervision of traffic or the prevention of minor infractions of useless laws. The police in most cities are far more solicitous about inspecting night clubs, break-

ing up crap games and spying on petting parties in parked automobiles in the suburbs than they are intent upon preventing or apprehending those guilty of murder, robbery or assault. Then, in only a few cities have the police departments been provided to the same degree with the advanced equipment provided by science and technology which the criminal makes use of in carrying on his depredations against society. This scientific and technical equipment for the apprehension and conviction of the criminal, as adopted in the police departments, has in no sense uniformly kept pace with the exploitation of comparable information and devices by the criminal classes.

Punishment vs. Treatment—Again, our entire system of criminal jurisprudence is wrong-headed and unscientific because it rests at the outset upon the fundamental assumption of the primary importance of detecting guilt and adjusting the punishment to the crime. Modern criminology insists, on the contrary, that guilt with respect to a particular crime is often far from the most important point at issue. The commission of the specific crime charged is relevant only in so far as it helps to throw light upon the personality of the accused person. The real question is whether or not the individual accused is a fit person to be at large before or after scientific treatment.

ARCHAIC IDEA OF PUNISHMENT

Even more important, modern criminology entirely repudiates the objective of making the punishment fit the crime. Our modern knowledge of the nature of criminal conduct renders the whole conception of punishment archaic. It is as futile and foolish to punish a criminal as it is to "punish" a person suffering from a physical or mental disease. In the second place, it is not the crime which needs to be dealt with but the criminal. Hence, modern criminology supplants the old slogan of making the punishment fit the crime by the new objective of making the treatment fit the criminal. If we accept this view of the matter it becomes clear that the treatment must be carried out by those competent in the premises: obviously, physiologists, physicians, psychiatrists and sociologists, but not lawyers.

The diagnosis and treatment of the criminal is a highly technical medical and sociological problem for which the lawyer is rarely any better fitted than a real estate agent or a plumber. We shall ultimately

come to admit that society has been as unfortunate in handing over criminals to lawyers and judges in the past as it once was in entrusting medicine to shamans and astrologers, and surgery to barbers. A hundred years ago we allowed lawyers and judges to have the same control of the insane classes as they still exert over the criminal groups, but we now recognize that insanity is a highly diversified and complex medical problem which we entrust to properly trained experts in the field of neurology and psychiatry. We may hope that in another hundred years the treatment of the criminal will be equally thoroughly and willingly submitted to direction by medical and sociological experts.

Our Absurd Jury System—The greatest weakness and absurdity in conventional criminal jurisprudence is to be found in the jury system. This creates a situation where those in charge of the practical procedure are not primarily concerned with the facts in the case, something which could not possibly exist where scientific procedure was really desired. The average prosecuting attorney is usually interested in convicting the accused, whether innocent or guilty, in order to advance his political prospects or to promote his rise in the legal or juristic profession. The lawyer for the defense is desirous of securing the discharge of his client, whether innocent or guilty, for the purpose of increasing his reputation as a successful criminal lawyer, or justifying his charge of an inordinate fee. Neither side, then, is really interested in the facts. Moreover, the court procedure is one which would make it relatively difficult to get at the facts even if the lawyers involved were enthusiastic about obtaining them. Imagine such a situation as the basis for attacking any problem in natural or social science!

The outcome of court-room procedure before the jury is essentially this: A group of witnesses of average or less than average ability who could not tell the truth if they wanted to, who usually have little of the truth to tell, who are not allowed to tell even all of that, and who are frequently instructed to fabricate voluminously and unblushingly, present this largely worthless, wholly worthless or worse than worthless information to twelve men who are for the most part unconscious of what is being divulged to them, and who would be incapable of an intelligent assimilation and interpretation of such information if they actually heard it.

The jury then proceeds to arrive at its

verdict after consultation and conference in the secrecy of the jury room. As they have followed little of the testimony in an intelligent fashion, and are further quite incapable of making up their minds upon the basis of a rational and intelligent analysis of concrete facts, the whole matter of the determination upon a verdict is largely the product of chance or of the personality types on the jury. An extremely impressive personality who, by accident, gets on the jury may bring about a decision entirely contrary to the evidence, while an unusually stupid, stubborn or corrupt moron may prevent agreement, in spite of overwhelmingly convincing evidence.

If, by chance, an intelligent verdict has been agreed upon, there is a reasonable probability that it may be set aside on the basis of the most absurd legal technicalities, which have no bearing whatever upon the fact of the guilt or innocence of the accused.

REFORMS NEEDED

Those who may agree with the writer as to the weaknesses and absurdities of contemporary criminal jurisprudence may well ask what can be suggested as a substitute. It is easy enough to outline the essentials of a scientific system for the apprehension and conviction of the criminal, but it is a far more difficult matter to secure the adoption of any such scheme.

Needed Reforms of Police System—We should, in the first place, take the police system entirely out of politics and make it a highly trained technical profession similar, if not superior, to the present Canadian Mounted Police. August Vollmer, Arthur Woods and others have indicated the requirements of any such adequate system of trained professional police. There should also be great improvement in the public detective service, which would put at the disposal of police and detectives all the technical devices which could possibly be employed by the criminal classes. In this manner we could make the apprehension of the criminal relatively speedy and certain. It is recognized by all criminologists worthy of the name, and fully proved by the example of England, that certainty of apprehension is far more of a deterrent than hypothetical severity of punishment. In the next place, the police should be encouraged to concentrate upon the prevention of, and apprehension for, the commission of really serious crimes.

A Substitute for the Jury System—Instead of the present unintelligent lay jury

we should have a permanent paid body of experts whose sole business it would be to deal with accused criminals by investigating the matter of their guilt or innocence and discovering the nature and causation of their criminal personality. Such a body of paid experts, made up of highly trained detectives, physicians, psychiatrists, sociologists and criminologists, would actually be interested in getting the facts, and would provide a procedure whereby the relevant facts could be obtained and scrutinized in a direct, speedy and intelligent fashion. Before such a body the rhetorical subterfuges, evasions and bulldozing of the contemporary court room would be as ineffective as they would be unlikely. Further, such a group of experts would not only be intimately interested in the matter of the guilt of the accused; they would be equally, if not more, interested in his personality. Even if the evidence pointed to the innocence of the accused, he would be held if it could be proved that he was suffering from some mental or physical disorder, certain to make him a potential menace to society. There would be no attempt to *punish* the individual for the particular crime committed but rather an effort so to *treat* or segregate the accused as to make him no longer a menace to society. These experts would be interested very literally and very directly in social protection, and not in using the corpses of innocent men as the stepping-stones to Governorships, or in exploiting the discharge of dangerous "crooks" and criminals in the interest of enhancing their own legal prestige and private fortunes.

PENAL INSTITUTIONS AS SCHOOLS OF CRIME

In regard to the conventional modes of dealing with the criminal after conviction, society is as unscientific as it is with respect to the present methods of ascertaining guilt. We assume that imprisonment, which by the opening of the nineteenth century had become the usual method of handling convicted criminals, represents an enormous advance over compensation or corporal punishment. If one examines, however, the actual nature of the penal institutions and prison discipline of the last century, one may be led to doubt whether the contemporary prison is really any improvement over the whipping-post or the stocks. The whipping-post, for the most part, had some deterrent influence, and did not to any notable extent contribute to the degradation and disintegration of the personality of the individual punished. The present

penal and "reformatory" institutions almost invariably tend to make the individual much more of a menace to society than he was before incarceration.

Theoretically, a prison may be an excellent institution for the reformation of the criminal, but, in the light of its practical methods and actual operation, it is doubtful if anything more ineffective or vicious could be devised as a method of protecting society from the depredations of the anti-social classes. Almost everything which could possibly contribute to the debasing and demoralization of the human personality characterizes present-day prisons and the contemporary methods of penal administration. If one sat down and calmly endeavored to construct with unbridled imagination the sort of place which would either increase the already anti-social proclivities of a criminal, or create anti-social attitudes and methods on the part of a hitherto normal individual, he would arrive at an institution bearing a very close resemblance to the modern prison. The modern prison is comparable to a hospital which would endeavor to execute successful therapy by taking a patient suffering from double pneumonia and subjecting him to an ice bath, followed by exposure to cold blasts in an unheated dormitory with totally inadequate bed coverings.

Our penal institutions represent a veritable hierarchy in the scheme of criminal pedagogy. A youngster is relegated to a State reform school, where he completes his elementary instruction in criminal methods and tendencies. His secondary school work and his undergraduate collegiate career are passed in the State reformatory. Having thus obtained his bachelor of arts degree in crime, he goes forth as a journeyman criminal. If highly successful, he avoids arrest and continues his career with no important setback. If he is lacking in intelligence and adroitness, or a victim of ill-luck, he returns to the State prison to initiate his graduate work in this field in the seminars of the greatest specialists available for his instruction.

Our prisons are equally fatal in their effect on those who have not passed through reform schools and reformatories. An adult first offender, while awaiting trial, may be thrown into a miserable county jail where he is compelled to associate with hardened criminals awaiting trial like himself, or with the degraded scum of the delinquent and pauper groups who make up that portion of the jail population who are actually serving time under a jail sentence. Con-

victed and sentenced to State prison, the first offender proceeds with the process of adjusting himself to association with crooks and to existence within a type of society characterized by corruption, intrigue and obscenity. The more decent elements in the prison population inevitably sink to the level of the lower strata through common association. Those who have come into prison through inferior technique naturally consult more successful and experienced criminals and thereby protect themselves to a considerable degree against the dangers of future arrest and reconviction.

Crime Prevention—Some who accept the validity of this indictment of the modern prison system might ask again what we have to substitute. The answer is easy in theory, but the possibility of introducing a rational system of treating the criminal in the face of public ignorance and bias is highly remote. As crime is a medical problem, we should, as in general medicine, lay primary stress upon preventative therapy. As far as possible, we should prevent the procreation of types likely to be unusually predisposed toward anti-social conduct. Here we enter the field of negative eugenics and sterilization. Juvenile courts and child guidance clinics, thoroughly linked with the public school system, will enable us to discover sufficiently early those types which, through an unfavorable environment, with resulting bad habits, or through various nervous or mental difficulties, seem headed toward a criminal career. By careful attention to these cases we may certainly save many from disaster and fit them for constructive and law-abiding social existence. Highly unfortunate living conditions, which generate those bad habits that lead to crime, should be rapidly and thoroughly eliminated. This would require not only better housing conditions, better facilities for recreation and better educational methods, but also such a fundamental reorganization of economic life and motives as would lead to the possibility for every able-bodied individual to earn a decent livelihood.

How to Treat Criminals—In the case of those convicted of crime, those who have not been guilty of the more serious types of crimes, and who, upon examination, do not reveal highly defective, abnormal or dangerous personalities, should not be incarcerated in any type of institution, but should be released on probation under a suspended sentence. In this situation they should have the most careful and sympathetic assistance of psychiatric clinics and well-trained social workers, from whom

both practical guidance and encouragement to reform may be secured. Thoroughgoing examination of those who seem to require incarceration should be provided. Such obviously non-reformable types as low-grade, feeble-minded prisoners, parietic convicts and insane convicts suffering from other incurable psychoses, should be remanded to the proper institutions for permanent segregation, irrespective of the crime committed.

We would then have remaining the group which could not be safely trusted at the outset to probation, and which apparently does not require permanent segregation. This group should be classified and subjected to the desirable form of medical treatment and social re-education. Physical health should be restored and maintained at the highest possible level. Neuroses and psychoses should be treated through psychoanalysis and other psychiatric methods. Social re-education along such lines as Mr. Osborne's Mutual Welfare League should be introduced in order to create the proper social habits of trust and responsibility. The possibility of maintaining one's self through lawful modes of activity should be assured by the teaching of a trade or profession to those not already thus equipped. After such a scheme of treatment the individual convict would then be in a position to be tried out through experimental release. There should be as thorough after-care for the discharged criminal as now accompanies the release of the inmate of a psychopathic hospital. Every effort should be made to secure employment for the discharged convict and to bring about adequate readjustment to normal social existence. In the case of a relapse, as demonstrated by the repetition of criminal conduct, the individual should be taken back for further treatment. If several experiments in this respect prove unsuccessful, then the individual should be permanently segregated.

HOW TO SECURE SOCIAL PROTECTION

Such a scheme as we have outlined above would really secure that reformation and social protection which the present prison system assumes to achieve, but fails to execute to any significant degree. In the case of those on probation it would provide guidance and encouragement toward reformation, and would avert the degrading influence of jail or prison life. By bringing about the permanent segregation of non-reformable types, irrespective of the seriousness of the crime, we should protect society permanently from a potentially danger-

ous group who are today released to prey upon society. With respect to the third group, those subjected to treatment in institutions set aside for the handling of the criminal classes, every expedient and device to bring about reformation would be actually applied, and the failure of such efforts would be adequate indication of the necessity for that permanent segregation which would give complete protection from the recidivist criminal who now carries on his depredations as long as his life goes on.

In the place of the contemporary prison, which does nothing to reform the convict and does everything to degrade and destroy his personality, we should have institutions presided over by socially minded experts, who would do everything possible to promote reformation and nothing to produce mental, moral and physical disintegration. The present system neither protects nor reforms, while the system proposed would achieve both to the highest possible degree consistent with the defects inherent in any scheme devised by man or applied to human material. If it be objected that this plan would be so pleasant that penal institutions would be swamped with voluntary applicants, one might ask the disconcerting question as to whether any great mobs have yet been observed clamoring for admission to State hospitals for the insane or to colonies for the feeble-minded? The prison of the future, whether called a prison or not, would bear a close resemblance in its objectives and methods to the better State hospitals for the insane which now exist. Certainty of apprehension and treatment according to scientific methods would act as a deterrent to a far greater degree than the present slight prospect of subjection to contemporary prison savagery, and it would possess the enormous advantage of bringing the resources of modern science to bear upon the task of protecting society from the anti-social classes.

Fallacy of the Baumes Laws—Those who advocate a continuation and increase of the savage contemporary system of repression as the best method of eliminating crime, point to the Baumes laws in New York State and to the allegation—possibly true—that these laws have notably diminished crime. But we cannot be sure that they have actually diminished anti-social crime, as many may have been driven out of the State or into border-line activity not yet branded as overtly criminal. The one great lesson of criminological history is that severity of punishment is not an adequate deterrent, as proved by such facts as that

the public hangings of pickpockets had to be discontinued in England because of the great increase of pocket-picking at such occasions. There is no doubt that severe punishments have some effect. The amount of pneumonia would probably be reduced by making its contraction a crime punishable by imprisonment for five years, but one would not contend on that account that this would be the best possible therapy for this particular disorder.

Let us see what actually happens under the dispensation of the Baumes laws. In order to receive the life sentence, which is the core of the Baumes laws, the offender must have been convicted of a felony four times. Under average circumstances this would mean that such a person had committed from ten to fifty crimes. Hence his depredations upon society would be enormous before the protection—expensive to maintain—is secured at all. Under the system which we have outlined as the program of scientific criminology, the protection would have been secured much earlier and at less expense. In the first place, most of the fourth offenders would, under a scientifically guided system, never become criminals, but would be detected in childhood and either cured by clinics or segregated in the proper institutions. In the case of those committing crime, we should not wait until the fourth offense, but would take the individual in hand at approximately his first offense and either treat or segregate him so as to render him no longer a menace to society. We could not expect a 100 per cent. success with such a scheme, but we should escape the nearly 100 per cent. failure of the present system.

If we can introduce science into the repression of crime more rapidly than contemporary civilization increases the crime rate, we may look forward with optimism to the future. But if the ignorance of the public and the bigotry, intolerance and stupidity of conservative lawyers and judges so obstruct the progress of intelligence and science in the field of the repression of crime that the increase of crime continues to be markedly greater than the advance of science in this field, we may well expect the ultimate extinction of the social order and the gradual disappearance of human society. Hence, the worst enemies of society would appear to be the conventional jurists and lawyers who are doing their level best, through defending archaic methods, to increase the number and permanence of the delinquent class.

What Makes Criminals

By GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY

HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CRIMINOLOGY, NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK; FORMERLY DEAN OF COLUMBIA LAW SCHOOL AND FORMER WARDEN OF SING SING PRISON

IT is a matter of rejoicing that, after the hysteria of the last few years, we are again enjoying a lucid interval. The crime wave propaganda, which swept the country like a tornado, has passed, leaving, it is true, much wreckage in its path which it may take many years to clear away. But "there is some soul of goodness in things evil," and in the calm that has succeeded the storm we may "observingly distil it out." Perhaps we needed some such windy buffeting to rouse us out of our easygoing tolerance of the public evils that have attended our devotion to our private affairs. The prophet in Holy Writ was treated to a mighty wind and then to an earthquake and then to a flare of fire before he was prepared to hear the still, small voice of the Lord. Besides there was at least a pennyworth of truth in the bushel of imaginary terrors with which we were assailed and now is the opportunity to assess it.

But this task, in the face of a public opinion which swings in an hour from panic to indifference, may not be an easy one. President Nicholas Murray Butler has recently called attention to the hostility of the public mind and especially of "the office-holding and office-seeking class" to reflective thinking on its most vital concerns. "To hold reasoned convictions" about any matter affecting the common interest "and to give public expression to them is to invite criticism if not actual enmity." Dr. Butler had particular reference to such issues as world peace, prohibition and the agrarian discontent, but his words are equally applicable to the problem of crime and its treatment. It is here, indeed, that reflective thought is at its lowest ebb and that it provokes the greatest irritation. The man who, in the clamor for new and more drastic penal legislation, raises his voice and pleads for understanding before action is at once assailed as a mollycoddle and a friend of publicans and sinners. This attitude of the "office-holding and office-seeking class" reached its most ludicrous expression in the message of Governor Fuller to the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1926, in which he put much of the responsibility for the alleged increase of crime in that State on "the highly developed expertness of penol-

ogists, reformers and parole advocates" and on "the intellectuals" with their penology and psychiatry. Richard Washburn Child put the impatience of the crusader more temperately in his book, *Battling the Criminal*. It is well enough to talk of causes and prevention, but not when the house is in flames. Put out the fire! That is the need of the moment.

Well, the fire is out. Perhaps at its worst there was no fire, or, at any rate, far more smoke than fire, and the fire a long, smoldering combustion slowly, too slowly, dying down to its embers. Certainly nothing to get excited about; clearly something to study and understand. Reflective thinking does not make the crime wave agitation a case of "much ado about nothing" but rather of much ado about something old and familiar. American lawlessness is an old story, going back into our early Colonial history, and one of which, thus generally expressed, we are quite unashamed. Indeed, we are too apt to regard it as something of a virtue, part and parcel of our prized individuality and self-sufficiency and independence. We get far more kick out of Clarence Darrow's lecture on "The Duty of Civil Disobedience" than we do out of Senator Borah's labored argument for the sanctity of the law and the Constitution. Respect for law is not an inheritance but a social achievement. Doubtless we are on our way to that goal, but we still have far to go. And, in the meantime, from away back, from the very beginning of our history as a people, this lawlessness has shaded down through the various strata of society, through the exploiter, the adulterator, the short-weight grocer, the bucketshop operator, the dishonest company promoter to the more clumsy and irritating forms of law-defiance of the thief, the bandit and the murderer. No one knows how many of the 11,000 homicides of the year 1926 were willful murders and therefore criminal in character, but we may be sure that the 23,000 deaths due to the reckless use of motor cars were, most of them, the work of "good citizens," willfully violating the law and contemptuous of the rights of their victims. One wonders if it is not this superior attitude toward the law on our

own part which gives us our tolerant, easy-going attitude with respect to the more vicious and reckless violators of the code. Certainly it is this that leads us, generation after generation, to maintain an administration of criminal justice whose inefficiency and savagery* and lust for notoriety are the wonder of the civilized world. There are many reasons, which the reader will find set forth elsewhere in these pages, for the persistence of this spirit of the pioneer and adventurer into a civilization which to an increasing degree demands stability and security—a demand with which this temper is forever at war.

LONDON'S LOW CRIME RATE

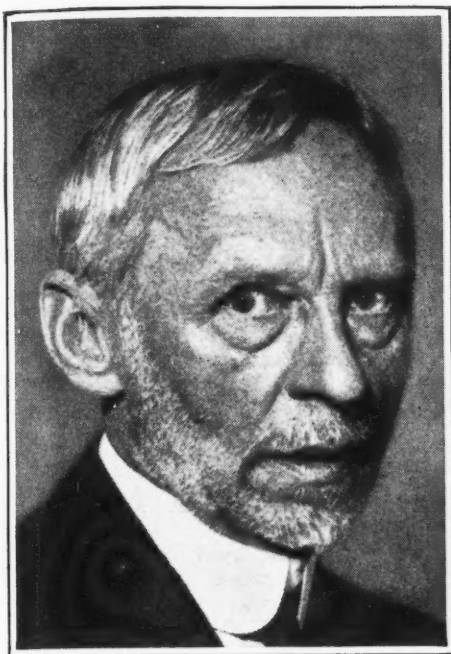
If the reader shrinks from this picture of the correlation of the national temper and crime, let him visit London and observe how an older democracy manages its affairs. In one of Santayana's "Dialogues in Limbo" the shade of Socrates, conversing with a stranger, a visitor from the modern world, apparently from America, marvels at a political system under which a mass of individuals who cannot govern themselves should yet be deemed fit for the task of governing others. Our visitor to London will have heard much of the low crime rate of that great city, of the efficiency of the unarmed police, of the swift and sure administration of the criminal law. Let him look further and note the ingrained habit of law observance of every class of the population from the man in the street to the Judge on the bench. He will find no attempt to violate the restrictive laws governing the sale of liquor, whether by the licensed vendor or the customer; rarely a violation of traffic regulations by cabman or private driver; no "third degree" or other police thuggery; never a criminal trial degraded into a morbid public spectacle. If our visitor is astute, he will, as here, find juries unwilling in many cases to inflict the barbarous death penalty, but he will not discover a trace of the sporting spirit which leads his fellow-citizens of the American commonwealth to laugh at the escape of a daring criminal from the legal consequences of his guilt. And, if he cares to pursue his studies further, he will find on the other side of the English Channel still other communities where, as in England, a low crime rate is set against a background of an all but uni-

versal sentiment of respect for law and order.

If, then, we may assume that our crime rate is an index of the civilization that we are pleased to maintain in this Western World, let us take courage from the fact that crime is, in fact, decreasing. This is the only conclusion that can be drawn from the sole body of trustworthy statistics that we have, the report of commitments to the prisons of the United States recently made by the Census Bureau at Washington. Although the data thus assembled furnish no basis for an estimate of the absolute volume of crime—as to this our police reports of crimes committed are still utterly unreliable—they may fairly be accepted as a trustworthy index of the rise or fall of the crime rate during the period of fourteen years (1910-1923) covered by the survey. Summarizing these conclusions, we find that general criminality serious enough to be punished by imprisonment has fallen off by 37.3 per cent. and that this result has been reached in the face of an enormous increase in the volume of offenses arising out of the violation of new laws, such as the prohibition and narcotic legislation of recent years. Specific forms of crime show curious variations. Coincident with a marked reduction in the burglary rate (11.4 per cent.) and in the wide range of offenses coming under the description of larceny (53.1 per cent.), there has been an equally significant rise in commitments for homicide (16.1 per cent.) and robbery (83.3 per cent.). While the increase in the number of these cases may doubtless be attributed in part to the stricter law enforcement of recent years, it is far too great to be explained away by that fact. There have been more homicides and far more robberies than in the first decades of the century. The increase in the homicide rate may be in large part explained as an incident of the illegal traffic in liquors and drugs, and of the reckless operation of the automobile in our streets and highways, but it may, perhaps, in a larger degree be attributed to the wanton use of the gun in connection with robbery. It is this new-style banditry that has created the illusion of a general crime wave.

There are changing fashions in crime as, let us say, in love-making and in other hazardous occupations, and the "revolt" which these disclose in the sentiments of the new generation appear to be mainly due to what we call the march of progress. Thus the high-power motor car, which has given us "necking" in place of the old-fashioned

*"American prosecutions today are coming to be conducted with a ferocity without parallel in common law trials since the Stuarts."
—Dean Roscoe Pound.



Underwood

DR. GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY

"sparking," has also given us the bandit, with his automatic gun and his easy get-away, in place of the old-time footpad. Prohibition, with however much of good to its credit, has incidentally endowed us with the hip pocket flask and the machine gun warfare of rival gangs of bootleg brigands. Old-fashioned folk deprecate these modern innovations. A group of "old-timers," all of whom, under the new dispensation, should now be serving life sentences at Sing Sing, but who are now "making good" in the world outside, met recently for a conference on crime waves and remedies. One of them expressed the view that the much advertised crime wave was "all bunk." What had happened was that "a lot of young fellows, who hadn't learned anything in the army camps but to 'duck details' and take what they wanted with a gun" had taken to robbery. "They haven't the nerve to do anything without a gun," he indignantly declared. "They shoot a man down without giving him a chance." All the group agreed that it was a "rotten" performance, but they couldn't see what was to be done about it. The trouble was that "the police hadn't a chance" with the new-style bandit. This pathetic expression of respect for the ethics of an old profession

has a familiar ring. The dowager, the bishop and the "old-timer" are at one in deploring the new methods by which the old games are being played.

But the old game of crime, however it may be played, is too serious a matter to be dismissed with a jest. That our crime rate is greatly in excess of that of an older and more stable civilization on the other side of the Atlantic is a fact that is neither excused nor justified by the demonstration that it is a natural incident of the type of social morality that we have developed. It is probably safe to say that there is a constant ratio between the general social morality of a people and its crime rate, but this is not a deterministic conclusion which justifies us in waiting with folded hands for the predestined millennium. The social morality which the crime rate reflects may itself be improved by conscious, deliberate effort. A community that calls to its aid reflective thinking on the crime problem has by that very fact gone up a step and earned for itself a lower rate of criminality. So much of good may be credited to the recent crime-wave agitation. It was itself not the fruit of thought but of emotion, but it has set the community to thinking.

The currents in which this thought has run have been determined by the prepossessions of the thinkers. By far the greater number of those who have contributed their views to the great debate are of that vast majority of the population who rely on the punishment of the offender as the principal, if not the sole, method of checking crime. They would put out the fire by direct action, and they aim to accomplish this purpose by improving the instrumentalities of criminal justice so as to make punishment swift and certain, and hard enough to make it a terror to evildoers. On the other hand, we have a smaller class, composed of students of the subject, more given, perhaps, to reflective thinking, who see in crime the flowering of deep and often submerged roots of personality, and who would proceed by a study of the individual and social factors which have cooperated in producing the criminal mind. There is no necessary conflict between these two aims. The difference is one of emphasis. The reflective thinker says to the direct actor: "Go ahead and put out the fire—if you can. In the meantime let us see what we can do in the way of fire prevention." Obviously the reflective thinker is not too hopeful as to the success of the firefighter. Let us see what his chances are.

The process described as the administra-

tion of criminal justice has long been under criticism in this country. It is a curious fact that of all the agencies involved in this process, from the man hunt of the police to the method by which the culprit is dealt with in the prison, the one that is perhaps the least culpable of the lot, the trial court, has come in for the brunt of the storm. It is the procedural law and its judicial administration which is the chief point of attack, as well by the bar and by our crime commissions as by sensational writers for the press. Nearly the whole body of new legislation proposed by these critics has to do with the trial procedure—to speed up the process from indictment to conviction, to restrict the facility with which bail may be granted, to permit the accused to waive trial by jury, to give the trial Judge a more effective rôle in guiding the deliberations of the jury, to enable the Court or the Prosecuting Attorney to comment on the defendant's failure to take the stand in his own defense and to restrict the power of appeal from a judgment of conviction—all aiming to deprive the defendant of some of the privileges and immunities surviving from a now antiquated system of criminal justice. Only a guilty defendant and the lawyer whose fees depend on his success in securing the acquittal of a guilty client can reasonably object to these proposed innovations in the traditional procedure.

But one may recognize the desirability of these proposals and yet doubt the efficacy claimed for them. The real issue was raised in the now famous Cleveland Survey of Criminal Justice conducted half a dozen years ago by a body of eminent and disinterested lawyers drawn from various parts of the country. The survey refers only incidentally and without emphasis or recommendation to the conditions which the proposed legislation aims to correct. The defects and evils of the courts it finds in a political system and in an indifference of public opinion which had resulted in the degradation of the bench, the cheapening of the judicial office, the election and reelection of Judges of demonstrated incompetence. It finds many of the courts under the direct influence of ward politicians or of professional criminal lawyers wielding political power; it finds gross abuse of the judicial discretion in granting continuances and *nolle prosequing* or dismissing indictments, and the usual judicial recklessness in the matter of excusing fit men from jury duty. The whole story is one of mismanagement of the powers already vested in

the courts. What Judges such as these will do with the new powers with which we now propose to invest them can easily be guessed.

Are we not justified in assuming that the vices which the Survey found to prevail in Cleveland may fairly be imputed in greater or less degree to the criminal administration in all our great cities? Doubtless these vary in one respect or another and it is certain that in all of them there are able and independent Judges, but it is safe to assert that, in nine cases out of ten, where there is a failure of justice, the stigma of that failure rests on the judicial administration of the law rather than on the law itself.

FUNCTIONS OF THE POLICE

But let us remember that, in order to make the law a terror to evildoers, it is not enough to have a court that will convict and punish. The best court in the world can deal only with such offenders as are filtered to it through the complex machinery that underlies it. Omitting for lack of space the subordinate agencies of punitive justice—the magistrate, who holds or does not hold the accused for trial, and the prosecuting attorney, the most powerful agency in the whole process of criminal administration, who determines whether the accused shall or shall not be brought to trial—both of whom are far more deeply stained with politics than are the courts—we come to that arm of the administration on which the whole superstructure of criminal justice rests, the police.

The police are our shock troops, the first line of defense against crime. Let us see how they stand up against the onset. Here the recently published report of the Missouri Crime Survey, an excellent piece of work done under the auspices of the Missouri Association for Criminal Justice, comes to our aid. This gives us the statistics of principal crimes reported and of the action resulting in the City of St. Louis for the year ending Oct. 1, 1924. It thus appears that out of 2,701 cases of burglary reported there were 217 warrants issued, 8 per cent.; 2,075 cases of robbery were followed by 247 arrests, 11 per cent., while there were only 276 arrests out of 4,277 cases of larceny, or 6 per cent. Of the total number of felonies reported (13,444) 964, or 7 per cent., were followed by arrests. As only 624 of these, or 4.6 per cent. of the whole number reported, proceeded as far as indictment, it is reasonable to assume that the number of arrests, small as it is, gives an

exaggerated measure of the efficiency of the police in coping with crime.

But the police, too, are "in politics." The Cleveland survey, as well as that of the Missouri Association for Criminal Justice, furnishes abundant evidence of this fact and of the demoralization which it involves. At its best this political basis of appointment and control signifies a lack of professional standards and a consistent record of incompetency, with the official condoning of serious and repeated misconduct on the part of members of the force. At its worst it means police bribery, the control of the policy of the department by political agencies that have a financial stake in the protection of bootlegging or of even more vicious criminal activities, and, finally, the deliberate use of the police club to determine the result of a popular election. The primary object of our system of criminal justice is to make the law a terror to evildoers. It may be asked what terror lies in a system under which only one malefactor in twenty is brought to the bar of justice.

And so the case of the firefighters rests—on a system of criminal justice whose record from top to bottom is characterized by the Missouri Survey as "a tale of wasted efforts and of halting and fumbling administration." And the remedy? A new social conscience, "an enlightened public opinion," the development of which is to be the task to which the organization which conducted the survey intends to devote its efforts. So, like Omar, we come back by the same door where in we went. Our inefficient administration of criminal justice is only another fruit of the tree which produces our discreditable crime rate. As has so often been remarked, we have the criminal justice that we want; the crime rate that we deserve.

One other phase of what we may describe as the frontal attack on crime can be dismissed in a few words—the "orgy of drastic penal legislation" which has in so many of our States followed on the heels of the crime-wave agitation. It is a maxim as old as Beccaria, a century and a half ago, that it is not the severity but the swiftness and certainty of punishment that gives it its deterrent effect. We seek by a cruel severity to compensate for the fatal delays and uncertainties of our criminal administration. It is written in letters of blood in the history of the race that savage punishments in the long run defeat their own ends. We may safely leave the Baumes laws and their like to this verdict of history.

In the meantime even the crime commis-

sions which have sponsored, where they have not initiated, these efforts to deal with the problem by direct action have joined the reflective thinker in the study of the causes of crime. Even the Baumes Commission in New York, which led the way down the blind alley of repression, has recently announced that it was now going in for preventive work. Let us see what the chances of this new approach are.

In the first place let it be said that we are not wholly ignorant even now of the natural history of the criminal. We know that he was not predestined from birth to a life of warfare against society. We know, too, that a man does not become a criminal over night by a bargain with the devil, but that the criminal mind is a slow growth from little beginnings. We have again discovered, what we have always known, that our criminal class is composed almost wholly of the young, most of them, at the time of their first conviction, still in their teens. We have also discovered, what we should always have known, that these hardened offenders, young as they still are, have behind them a long record of delinquency reaching back into childhood. The new-style bandit, who is the terror of the community today, is only the reckless or "difficult" or unadjusted child of yesterday. It is because we let him run wild yesterday that he is on his way to a life term or to the death chamber in Sing Sing today. Surely it is not beyond our competency to furnish him with wholesome outlets for his restlessness, his superabundant energy, his spirit of adventure, before it is too late.

Then, in the second place, we are today equipped with a new knowledge of human nature and with a new technique for exploring it and dealing with it. Psychology, psychiatry, psychoanalysis—not yet the perfected instruments of diagnosis and treatment that they will become—have already been brought into the service of the "problem child" with amazing results. After all, the children's clinic is a better place of study and treatment than the prisoners' dock of the criminal court—far less expensive and of far greater advantage to a long-suffering community.

Study—there is endless need of this, that our understanding of the problem and our methods of dealing with it may constantly improve. But do we not already know enough of the problem and the methods to be employed in dealing with it to throw ourselves—our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor—into the task of saving our children from a life of crime?

Difficulties in Enforcing Criminal Law

By JOHN KNIGHT

MAJORITY LEADER OF THE NEW YORK STATE SENATE AND CHAIRMAN OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL STATISTICS OF THE NEW YORK STATE CRIME COMMISSION

THE task of enforcing criminal law suffers much because it is so interesting. No aspect of human activity obtains so much publicity and obtains it so easily. Nothing bulks so large in literature and the drama. Crime, its motives, its apprehension and punishment fill the public prints. But this public interest in crime follows the rule of public interest in everything else. It limits itself to the unusual, the sensational—the few rare and unusual crimes. Murders, for example, are especially noted because they represent the ultimate in human destruction and in punishment. The public conception of crime is stereotyped into the succession of events which accompanies murder. The discovery of the crime (with all its gruesome stage setting) the pursuit of clues, the increasing hotness of the scent, the arrest, the indictment, the interminable selection of jurors, the endless columns of sensational, spicy testimony, the impassioned oratory of counsel, the agonizing wait for a verdict—then the sentence, followed by the announcement of appeals and in the rare, completely rounded and public-satisfying case, the grim march from the death house to the chair. Then oblivion—after the execution, after a life sentence or after an acquittal—always an end to the case in hand and a rush to the next case and the same round once more.

But this lurid serial is not criminal justice. It has the same relation to the day-by-day enforcement of criminal law that a shipwreck has to ocean transportation. It is the fragment of a complete circle that catches the sunlight and attracts the eyes of the onlookers. To take New York as an example, prosecutions for murder constitute only one-twentieth of the prosecutions for felonies. Of all felonies punished in New York State in 1925, the death penalty resulted in less than one-fourth of 1 per cent. If we add to these felonies all the minor crimes, murders and the punishment thereof sink to the smallest fraction of 1 per cent. The great grist of

crimes that are really important pass without public notice. Their solution, trial and punishment are a part of the day's work of law enforcement officers. But the general problem of making the United States less lawless is bound up in what is done in these prosaic prosecutions, rather than in all the Leopold-Loeb, Hall-Mills and Snyder-Gray cases in a generation.

What are the offenses which constitute the vast majority of the cases with which law enforcement offices actually deal? Who are the accused? What happens to these prosecutions? What percentage result in convictions? In punishment? Of those which fall by the wayside how many are terminated at the various stages of prosecution? What law enforcement officials participate and how important is the rôle played by each? What aspects of our procedure are most significant and what among them can be safely dispensed with? How long does it take to prosecute cases in our courts? Is there delay, and if so, what are the points in the procedure which contribute most to this delay? These and other pertinent questions need to be answered, so far as is humanly possible, before the long task of reconstructing our methods of enforcing criminal law can be carried to completion. Moreover, these questions are essentially all aspects of one question which any Government should answer. What are the results, the product of the governmental machinery which taxpayers are suffering? How can each part of the machine justify its existence? To answer such an inquiry there is needed much more than the reports that are now made anywhere by our law enforcement agencies. Their records are for the most part poor, inadequately kept, not uniform from one State or county to another. To secure a satisfactory answer an immense task of record searching must be undertaken and the results must be carefully compiled, a task not unlike the searching of records for a land title, only a thousand times multiplied.

The New York State Crime Commission, as one of its preliminary activities, attempted through a subcommittee, staffed with a number of statisticians and other research workers, to answer the questions we have just noted. It selected as the basis of its operation the felony prosecutions throughout the State during a single year. The year 1925 was used, although the study was made at the end of 1926 and the beginning of 1927, in order to permit the bulk of cases initiated in 1925 to be terminated. The police of the larger cities and the members of the State police force were used for the work of searching the records. A card form was prepared for each felony case, with provision for the entering of each step in the procedure, with names, dates, court orders and other matters of record. The net result was a very large number of "case histories"—25,018 in all—including all the cases—19,468—initiated in the City of New York, practically all in the other large cities of the State (2,463 in Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Albany, Yonkers and Utica), 1,988 in the smaller cities and enough—1,099—from rural sections to furnish typical examples. The labors of this subcommittee resulted in the complete analysis of a great number of felony prosecutions, which not only provides for New York State the basis of an intelligent examination of its own system, but because of the vast numbers of cases involved, is of interest to all other States. No other State, of course, could yield such a mass of data. New York City, for example, carries on more felony prosecutions in a year—19,468—than the entire State of California in three years, or the State of Minnesota in five years. These comparisons, however, should not be mistaken for measurements of the relative amount of crime in the cities and States mentioned. There are no dependable statistics of crimes committed in the United States. Our figures measure only the cases which reach the courts. They indicate the magnitude of the task of the law enforcement agencies of the largest State and the largest city in the United States.

NEW YORK'S FELONY CASES IN 1925

Beginning with arrests, let us see what happened to the felony cases in New York City in the year 1925. To facilitate this the commission has set forth in its report the following table, borrowing from the terminology of life insurance the term "mortality table" to indicate the progress

of cases step by step in the criminal process from arrest to conviction:

MORTALITY TABLE OF FELONY CASES IN NEW YORK CITY IN 1925

	Cases.	Perc'tage.
Arrests on felony charges	19,468	... 100. ...
Disposed of while in custody of the police ...	384	... 1.97
Disposed of at preliminary hearings in Magistrate's Court. ...	11,079	... 56.91
Disposed of by Grand Jury	2,383	... 12.24
Remaining cases indicted by Grand Jury	5,622	... 28.88 ...
Dismissed, etc., in trial court.....	1,618	... 8.31
Remaining cases sentenced	4,004	... 20.57 ...
Sentence suspended..	999	... 5.13
Eliminated in appeal. ...	302
Imprisoned or fined, i. e., punished.....	3,002	... 15.42 ...

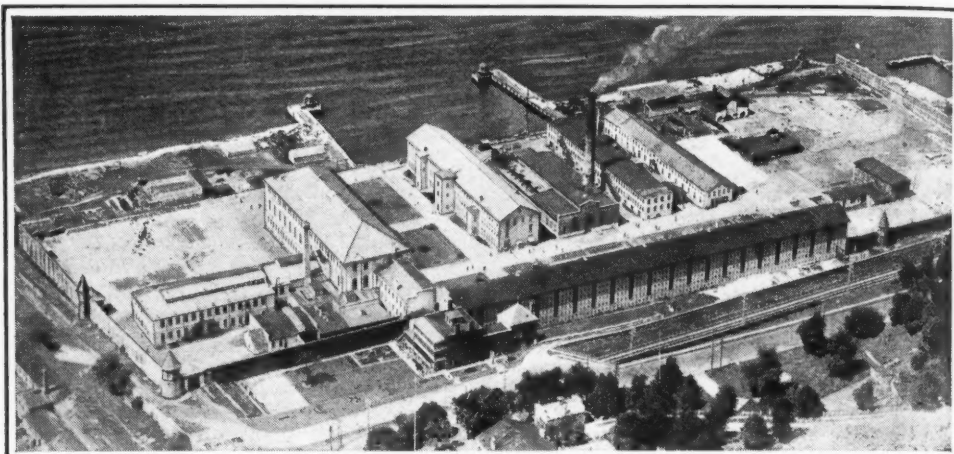
On account of the inadequacy of police, police court and justice of the peace records, it is not possible to compare the above figures for New York City with other parts of the State. If we start, however, with that part of criminal procedure which is initiated by Grand Jury action, the available records yield satisfactory data. Beginning with those cases which have been considered by the Grand Jury in the various parts of the State and grouping the cities of Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Albany, Yonkers and Utica as "cities over 100,000," we have the following:

WHAT HAPPENS TO CASES HELD FOR THE GRAND JURY (In percentages)

	New York City	Up-State Over 100,000	Small Cities	Rural
Held for Grand Jury	100	.. 100	.. 100	.. 100
Eliminated by Grand Jury....	27	.. 16	.. 20	.. 25
Indicted	73	.. 84	.. 80	.. 75
Eliminated in trial court.....	20	.. 16	.. 15	.. 10
Found guilty.....	51	.. 68	.. 65	.. 65
Sentence suspended	13	.. 22	.. 25	.. 28
Imprisoned or fined	38	.. 46	.. 40	.. 37

Through these detailed tables we have the whole product of our criminal process measured in units of one case each. We have placed this product in perspective so that we can see at a glance the flow of cases through the channel provided for them by law. What outstanding factors reveal themselves? What conclusions may we draw?

One of the more striking of these revelations is the great importance of the prelim-



Aerial view of Sing Sing Prison, Ossining, N. Y.

Keystone

inary hearing. In New York City nearly 60 per cent. of felony arrests are disposed of in the lower court. In Chicago the figure is similar, as it is also in Cleveland and St. Louis, for which we have dependable statistics. The conclusion here is that the courts which actually count most in our system are not those highly respected and awesome tribunals where begowned justices or Appeals Supreme Court justices sit, nor yet the county courts, where, throughout the land, criminal trials attract the interest of the newspaper-reading public, but the humble courts of the Police Magistrates and justices of the peace. Here, where justice usually sits in an atmosphere of disorder and inefficiency, and in the presence of a motley assemblage of the unfortunate, the rapacious and the curious, most felony cases are passed upon and thrown out. If, as is usually understood, this court is a place for "sifting" cases, throwing out the unimportant and unproved, and thus saving the time and energy of the trial court and the Grand Jury, it is hardly a satisfactory plan for real "sifting." If such preliminary work is not well done and habitual criminals are turned loose to return to their trade, new and serious crimes are the penalty society pays for slipshod preliminary examinations. Moreover, this court is the court which touches the masses of the people. It is the people's court and if it functions badly a deep distrust of all justice is likely to result. As Charles Evans Hughes once said, "justice in the minor courts, effectively and wisely administered, is the best

protection for the safety of our institutions."

Another factor only partially shown in the figures above, but clearly brought out in the assembled data of the Crime Commission is the great importance of the District Attorney in the determination of cases. The data assembled in New York verifies a similar recent study in Missouri, where the conclusion was reached that "the influence of the prosecution in the criminal process is continuous and in most instances decisive." For example, in most rural counties the District Attorney may refuse to lend his powerful influence to the beginning of a prosecution and in most instances an arrest will not be made. If he appears at the preliminary hearing, he may urge or discourage a prosecution and in most instances the Magistrate or justice of the peace will follow his advice. He usually dominates the Grand Jury. He deals with the indicted person and in most instances secures the plea which he desires. He may terminate the trial when he desires by moving to dismiss the indictment. He is usually consulted by the Judge in granting a suspended sentence and in many instances in fixing the term of a sentence. Finally, he may exert a powerful influence in the granting of a parole, a commutation or a pardon. His influence in New York is vividly shown in the statistics assembled by the commission.

HOW DEFENDANTS PLEAD

For the benefit of the lay reader it should be explained that the usual procedure after

a person has been indicted (or accused) by a Grand Jury, is to bring the defendant before a Judge for arraignment (which means the reading of the formal indictment). After this accusation the defendant pleads. With a few rather unusual variations, this plea is "guilty" or "not guilty." If the plea be guilty there is no trial and the Judge proceeds to fix sentence according to the provisions of the law. Contrary to a popular misconception of criminal justice the defendant usually pleads guilty. For the most part this plea of guilty is not the outcome of a despairing realization that "the jig is up" nor an abject gesture of confession and renunciation of wrongdoing. It is a type of defense strategy. The counsel for the defense bargains with the prosecuting officer for the best possible terms as to a sentence. In return the prosecutor obtains what he regards as the equivalent of a conviction and obtains it, moreover, without the labor and uncertainty of a trial. Then, when the District Attorney runs for re-election, he can point to the number of "convictions" which he has achieved in his term of office. His ratio of convictions to acquittals is as important to him as a baseball player's batting average or a golf player's score. At the present stage of public ignorance of criminal justice he usually adds to his actual convictions, achieved after trial by jury, the cases in which he secured a plea of guilty. In these latter his actual labor consisted for the most part only of a series of negotiations with the defendant and his counsel.

The extent to which pleas of guilty are a factor in the administration of criminal justice in New York is strikingly shown in the figures collected by the commission. In the entire State 8,296 cases reached the arraignment stage. Of these 65 per cent. resulted in a plea of guilty, while less than 35 per cent. pleaded not guilty. The rate of pleas of guilty was high everywhere in the State, in city and country alike. In New York City it was 62, in the other large cities 66, in the smaller cities 71 and in the rural sections 74.

The agreement reached by defense and prosecution which results in a plea of guilty may or may not be in all respects a contract in which something of value is given by each side. It is, however, a commonplace among those versed in the routine of prosecution that very frequently pleas of guilty are offered in return for the express or implied promise of leniency when the penalty is fixed. It should be made clear here that such an understanding is

mostly implied because after all the District Attorney is dependent upon the Judge in the fulfillment of such an agreement. He can and frequently does promise to recommend such an action. Although there is no way to determine with statistical precision how frequently such an exchange of leniency for a plea of guilty takes place, it is possible to correlate what kinds of sentences are meted out after pleas of guilty with those which follow convictions after pleas of not guilty. The evidence produced by such a correlation is wholly in support of the contention that pleas of guilty are given with an expectation of leniency. Such evidence is clearly shown by the proportion of suspended sentences which follow pleas of guilty in comparison with those which follow pleas of not guilty. These proportions are shown in the following table:

	Per cent. given suspended sentence after plea of	
	Guilty	Not Guilty
New York City.....	25	17
Large up-State cities	37	16
Small cities.....	42	13
Rural	35	39

There is much to be said in favor of an attempt on the part of the District Attorney to seek pleas of guilty. There is, of course, the quite obvious fact that a plea of guilty saves the State the expense of a jury trial. It conserves the time of the District Attorney for other important cases. A large number of pleas of guilty may, moreover, be an indication of the wholesome respect with which defense lawyers regard an able District Attorney's office, as in one city, where for many years there has been a very inefficient prosecutor's office, with a rather marked percentage of pleas of not guilty. In such a city as this the hope of defendant is that he will win in a trial before a jury on account of the ineffective prosecution which he is compelled to meet. The tendency toward a large number of pleas of guilty may, moreover, mark a feeling on the part of defendants that they would rather submit their case to a Judge than to a jury. This later attitude unquestionably actuates a large proportion of defendants in Canada, where in certain offenses the defendant may elect "a speedy trial," which is a trial by a Judge instead of by a jury.

PLEADING TO LESSER OFFENSES

Much more disturbing is another aspect of the tendency to plead guilty. Pleas may be made "to a lesser offense" and if

accepted will result in a sentence by the Judge in accordance with the offense to which the defendant has pleaded. For example, a person may be charged with grand larceny (which is a felony) and by an agreement with the District Attorney and the Judge be permitted to plead guilty and to receive punishment for petit lar-

cy of some crime. We are, therefore, permitting a large proportion of crime to pass unpunished by punishing certain defendants for crimes which were never committed. In the following tables we set forth the exact state of affairs in the five counties which comprise New York City and the other large cities of the State:

PLEAS IN FIVE NEW YORK CITY COUNTIES

Pleas	New York City				Kings		Bronx		Queens		Richmond	
	%	No.	%	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Guilty, offense charged.....	13.95	435	12.38	137	12.11	106	21.95	92	25.21	14	10.85	14
Guilty, other offense.....	48.45	1,755	49.94	650	57.47	196	40.58	57	15.62	66	51.16	66
Not guilty (final).....	35.16	1,281	36.46	307	27.25	138	28.57	202	55.34	49	37.98	49
All others	2.44	43	1.22	37	3.27	43	8.90	14	3.83
Total.....	100.00	3,514	100.00	1,131	100.00	483	100.00	365	100.00	129	100.00	129

PLEAS IN SIX UP-STATE CITIES

	Buffalo		Rochester		Syracuse		Albany		Yonkers		Utica	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Guilty, offense charged.....	145	40.85	111	63.07	117	79.59	82	37.79	23	56.09	69	57.02
Guilty, other offense.....	81	22.82	4	2.27	3	2.04	78	35.94	7	17.07	6	4.96
Not guilty.....	120	33.86	47	26.71	24	16.33	55	25.35	10	24.40	37	30.58
All others.....	9	2.47	14	7.95	3	2.04	2	.92	1	2.44	9	7.44
Total.....	355	100.00	176	100.00	147	100.00	217	100.00	41	100.00	121	100.00

cy. The justification which is offered for this by judges and district attorneys is the old "half-a-loaf" argument. It is better, they say, to make certain that some punishment is meted out than to try a case in which the evidence may fail to convince the jury and which, as a result, may end in an acquittal. This argument, however, does not answer the objection that if a person is indicted for the commission of a crime there must have been satisfactory evidence that the crime charged was actually committed, although, of course, the evidence may not convince the jury that the person charged committed the act in question. Subsequently to permit the defendant to plead guilty to another offense, which actually was never committed, is to set at naught the entire function of the Grand Jury. To put it in a somewhat extreme fashion, it somewhat confusing to say to an accused person: "The State charged you with stealing a horse, but if you will confess that you stole a sheep we will no longer pursue you for the theft of a horse, but will punish you for the theft of a sheep." Inasmuch as a horse has been stolen and a sheep has not been stolen, the whole proceeding rests clearly upon a piece of convenient fiction. The data of the Crime Commission plainly show that this fiction is resorted to in a very considerable proportion of the cases in New York State which actually result in punishment

In these tables it will be seen that, though pleas of guilty were decidedly in the majority throughout the State, there were great differences in the readiness with which District Attorneys accepted pleas to a lesser offense. The District Attorney of Kings County, for example, permitted more than 50 per cent. of his cases to plead to a lesser offense, while in Rochester only about 2 per cent. did so. This wide variation may well challenge the serious attention of the public. If Grand Juries are charging people with crimes which there is no convincing evidence that they have committed the Grand Juries are seriously at fault. On the other hand, if Grand Juries are charging persons with serious crimes for the purpose of "bluffing" them into pleas of guilty to lesser crimes, they are making a travesty of justice. If the District Attorneys cannot gather the evidence necessary to venture on a trial when the Grand Jury was convinced that there was evidence justifying an indictment the Police Department and the District Attorney's staff are seriously at fault. In any event, the practice of receiving such a large proportion of pleas to a lesser offense is open to serious question.

The importance of the District Attorney is shown in another part of the commission's statistics. After the trial has begun the case may be dismissed by the Court on motion of the counsel on either side. It

appears that in certain counties this is done very frequently. In New York County, for example, after the tremendous sifting to which cases are subjected by the Magistrates and after the large proportion of pleas of guilty, the trial court dismisses 16 per cent. of the entire number of cases which are prosecuted "on motion of the defendant's counsel." In such dismissals there is no reason to suppose that a District Attorney offered strenuous objection. In fact, it is quite reasonable to infer that he concurred in the termination of these cases. Moreover, in a number of cases, which run as high as 14 per cent. in one county, on the average of about 3 per cent. of the cases were dismissed by the Court on motion of the District Attorney himself.

The lesson pointed by these figures is that for better or for worse prosecution is the part of our machinery of justice to which efforts for improvement should be directed. If the District Attorney is inefficient, indolent or excessively political, law enforcement is bad.

CAUSE OF CRIME

Another fact which emerges from the data gathered by the commission is the relative numerical importance of various kinds of felonies in the courts of New York State. Seventy per cent. of the felonies for which persons are prosecuted are included within the four classes of grand larceny, assault, burglary and robbery. Of them grand larceny leads all others, rising in importance in certain of the larger cities to one-third of all felonies prosecuted. In the rural areas burglary leads. The predominance of these crimes confirms the impression gained by those who have in recent years intelligently analyzed the problem. The majority of crimes are those committed for the most part with calculation and deliberation; those arising from passion, such as murder, assault and the other more revolting types of offenses, are in the minority. The motive power behind crime seems to be mainly the desire to acquire property. Professional crime is the major problem of law enforcement.

Another assertion which has marked recent discussion of crime is verified by our analysis. The young criminal is a serious menace. Robbery and burglary are for the most part the work of mere boys. The median age of all persons charged with robbery in New York State in the year 1925 was 23. Burglary was only a fraction over 22. The median age for forgery, frauds

and grand larceny was higher, but was still under 30 years.

The law's delay will always be an important factor in law enforcement. In criminal cases it is axiomatic that delay helps the defense. The commission was able to determine the median time required to try cases during the year considered. The large cities seemed to be less slow than the small towns and rural districts. The median for New York County (Manhattan) in all cases completed, was 75 days, the lowest in the State. Kings County (Brooklyn) was 75 days, Buffalo 68, the small cities 90 and the rural districts 81. An important factor which contributes to this delay is to be found in adjournments, which average in some counties as high as three or four a case. The Grand Jury, however, one of the most venerable of our institutions, is the prime cause of delay in the small towns and rural districts.

Perhaps the most striking part of the investigation which we have described is that mentioned in the beginning of this article, namely, the great "mortality" of cases in the course of prosecution. There is no question that almost any other human activity which should be able to complete such a small proportion of the units of work which it began, as our courts are demonstrating in felony cases, would be open to very serious public criticism. Perhaps we should not use the word "efficiency" in this connection, but it is not far from the truth to say that the "mortality" of cases on the way from arrest to conviction indicates that criminal procedure in the State of New York is not over 20 per cent. efficient. The fact that of the 25,000 cases which we considered something less than 20 per cent. resulted in punishment points to several alternative questions, any one of which is sufficiently important to challenge serious public attention. Are the police arresting several times as many innocent men as guilty ones or are the courts, especially the Magistrates of New York City, turning guilty people loose? Obviously, one or the other of these unpleasant conclusions must be true. There is an explanation, however, which, though it is not an escape from this dilemma, is nevertheless a plausible way of justifying an unsatisfactory condition. It is that many guilty people are being turned loose, but this is not because the law enforcement agencies are in league with criminals but because evidence is hard to get. Here, then, is a question of efficiency, not only of the police but of the prosecuting agencies.

Criminal Law Enforcement in America and Europe

By P. W. WILSON

FORMER MEMBER OF BRITISH PARLIAMENT NOW RESIDING IN AMERICA

RESPONSIBLE citizens throughout the United States are devoting a particular attention to causes of crime, and especially of violent crime, of which the prevalence has aroused increasing anxiety. The world-wide criticism which accompanied the Sacco-Vanzetti case, the Baumes law in New York State and various inquiries, legal and other, have focussed opinion on this serious problem.

Criminology is an international study. The experience of one country influences the policy of every country and, in what follows, an attempt will be made to indicate what is the situation in Europe, where criminal jurisprudence is based on long tradition. Of necessity, the review must be in the most general terms. To almost every statement, it would be possible to suggest reservations and exceptions. At the same time, there are broad principles and essential facts which bear directly on the difficulties that affect the United States herself.

Laws are enforced in the name of sovereignty. The simpler and the more direct the sovereignty the easier are the mechanics of maintaining order.

In Europe there are about thirty such sovereignties. Some are large, others are small, but most are legal units, able to pass laws and to enforce them without any infringement of what, in this country, are known as State rights. An exception is Switzerland, where each canton handles its own provincial crime. In Germany, once a federation of monarchies, the system of courts is uniform, though the judges are answerable each to his own State.

Under the European system of a single and direct sovereignty a multiplicity of laws in the same country, of local application only, is on the whole avoided. The law is drafted only by the best lawyers. It is the product, not of provincial experiment and aspiration, but of national experience.

On the Continent of Europe it has been the *Code Napoléon* which, with variations and amendments, has been widely adopted. But in Britain, criminal jurisprudence, like

the Constitution itself, is not embodied in a code, but is the growth of centuries. Between England and Scotland a distinction has to be drawn. South of the Tweed we find first the Common Law, based on usage and precedent, and secondly the Statute Law, passed by Parliament, which defines particular offenses and assigns penalties in respect to them. The Scottish law is even more elastic.

It is a recognized axiom that the citizen is held responsible for knowing the law and if charged with an offense cannot plead ignorance as an excuse. As civilization is elaborated the law tends to become more complex, and in Great Britain the development of limited liability companies has led to legislation defining new offenses of a fraudulent character, while the adoption of machinery has multiplied opportunities of accident by culpable negligence. Indeed, many offenses on the record are not crimes, as hitherto that word has been understood. They are offenses against safety and commercial ethics. But, despite all reservations, it cannot be contended that in Europe the criminal law, as usually applied, is obscure. The citizen of sane mind usually knows what is and what is not a punishable offense.

The single sovereignty has its disadvantages as well as its advantages. In a federal system there is a limited field where the reformer can try his hand. But a nation moving as a whole can move only with deliberation. In Great Britain the fight against capital punishment for minor offenses was long and difficult, and until the year 1907 there was no court of criminal appeal. In the France of the twentieth century it is still possible for convicts to be sent to a Devil's Island that deserves its name.

When, however, reform in the unified sovereignty has been achieved it covers the whole area. There is a minimum of danger that in some backward county or province abuses will continue, remote from observation by public opinion. In Britain any such scandal would be brought inevi-

tably before Parliament. There is the Home Secretary, who can be held responsible, and as a Cabinet Minister the Home Secretary knows that his acts or omissions involve the fate of the Government.

An illustration of the difference between federal and unified enforcement of law may be found in the controversy over capital punishment. In some States of the Union the extreme penalty is retained. In others it is abolished. So in Germany. Hesse has just decided on abolition, and her example may affect the whole Republic. But in Great Britain the penalty is retained for aggravated murder, even by a woman, and in Italy it has been restored.

In methods of execution, moreover, Europe is apt to be conservative. While Nevada uses poison gas, while other States prefer the electric chair and while Connecticut jerks the victim to the ceiling, Britain continues the practice of hanging. France is convinced that the prisoner suffers least by the guillotine and Prussia employs the axe of the executioner.

Criminologists are agreed that complete statistics are essential to a scientific study of their subject. In the United States such statistics would have to be derived from no fewer than fifty sources, the Department of Justice, the District of Columbia, and forty-eight States. European statistics are usually available for the country as a whole. In the case of Great Britain the figures are presented annually to Parliament and can be made the subject either of immediate question to the Home Secretary or of debate on the Home Office vote. Of recent years, at any rate, there has been no need either for the press or for individuals to agitate against crime waves. The problem of crime is always serious, but it can be ventilated in an orderly and responsible manner.

Between the United States, as a country born of revolution with an eye directed to the future, and Europe with institutions rooted in the past, there is a difference in the administration of law which may appear to be subtle, but is in actual fact of great importance. Institutions like the Star Chamber in London and the Bastille in Paris may have had their day, but, like numerous castles, often in picturesque ruin, they remind us that the criminal jurisprudence of the Middle Ages was concerned not only with the protection of the citizen against the criminal, but with the protection of the State against the discontents, often the just discontents, of the citizen.

In countries like Russia and Italy crime includes not murder and theft alone but politics. The man in the street in some cases comes to regard the law not as his friend but as his enemy—a sentiment which, it is to be feared, some immigrants have brought from Europe across the Atlantic.

The importance of such sentiment cannot be overestimated. It is an accepted principle that the citizen shall assist the officers of justice in the discharge of their duty, whether by supporting the police when they make an arrest, by giving evidence, or by serving on a jury.

It is a serious matter when these obligations are avoided. In Naples an entire population lived for many years under the spell of a criminal conspiracy called the Camorra, with which the State has had the utmost difficulty in dealing. The Mafia of Sicily has been an even more formidable social menace, nor is it seriously disputed that these powerful organizations have influenced crime beyond the Italian frontier.

The case of Ireland stands, perhaps, by itself. Owing to a patriotism, not criminal but political, many shootings and burnings have been condoned by law-abiding citizens as a form of justifiable protest against an alien authority. There was thus a widespread refusal to produce evidence that would have led to the conviction of persons responsible. A public opinion adverse to the judiciary and the police paralyzes the arm of justice.

BRITISH POLICE SYSTEM—SCOTLAND YARD

Between the policy pursued on the Continent of Europe and in Britain there is here a difference. On the Continent the police are not only highly organized, but usually armed, and, to employ a common phrase, the nation as a whole is known to the police. Even a person of excellent reputation has to submit to a surveillance unknown to the resident—whether a national or an alien—in the United States, Great Britain or a Dominion. The British police as a rule are unarmed. Indeed, it is asserted that the less military their organization the more effective are they in capturing offenders. The fact that citizens when innocent are free from surveillance means that if they see the police trying to arrest a man they assume that there must be a good reason. The police have the public on their side and evidence

by the police is usually accepted by the courts.

As a rule the police of Britain are employed by and are responsible to the elected councils of the counties, cities and boroughs. But in London the Metropolitan Police, a fine body of men, are under the direct control of the Home Secretary, who is himself directly responsible to Parliament. At the seat of Government, therefore, we find a reserve which can be used on application to support the forces of law and order in any threatened quarter. The English "Bobby" is so called because his force was established by Sir Robert Peel when he was Home Secretary in 1829. The man in blue made an enormous difference with respect to order in the streets and he has become a type, known and respected throughout the world. In Canada the efficiency of the Mounted Police is proverbial.

Every European country has a central organization, which is called or corresponds to a Department of Justice, with nationwide authority. The brain of the Metropolitan Police in London is Scotland Yard, where archives have been accumulated which cover the record of all known criminals and their methods. Photographs, fingerprints and other information are kept on file. The system was developed by Alphonse Bertillon and is regarded as mathematically inerrant. Where such records are applicable they are a scientific alternative to identification by eye-witnesses and experts in caligraphy, which is notoriously of doubtful value.

If a murder is committed in Massachusetts the conviction and punishment of the offender are duties which fall on the single State and the Federal authorities do not interfere. But if a murder is committed in Yorkshire or Lancashire the case is referred at once to Scotland Yard. This means that an authority independent of local circumstances deals with the witnesses and whatever evidence may be available. Let us suppose that there is a suspicion of poison. It is the medical expert of Scotland Yard who conducts the autopsy and measures the precise amount of arsenic or other drug that may be discoverable in the body and it is very seldom that his testimony on the facts is challenged. In the famous case of Mrs. Maybrick the real question was not whether arsenic was found in her husband's body—it was found—but whether it had been used as a medicine and, in any event, whether it was actually responsible for the death.

The officials of Scotland Yard are a body of civil servants, holding appointments for life, with prospect of pension and as far removed as it is possible for the citizen to be from political influence. Even to social influence Scotland Yard usually turns a deaf ear. Men of great wealth and powerful family have been prosecuted for misuse of money and imprisoned, while a former high official of Scotland Yard was recently arrested and convicted of an offense in a public place.

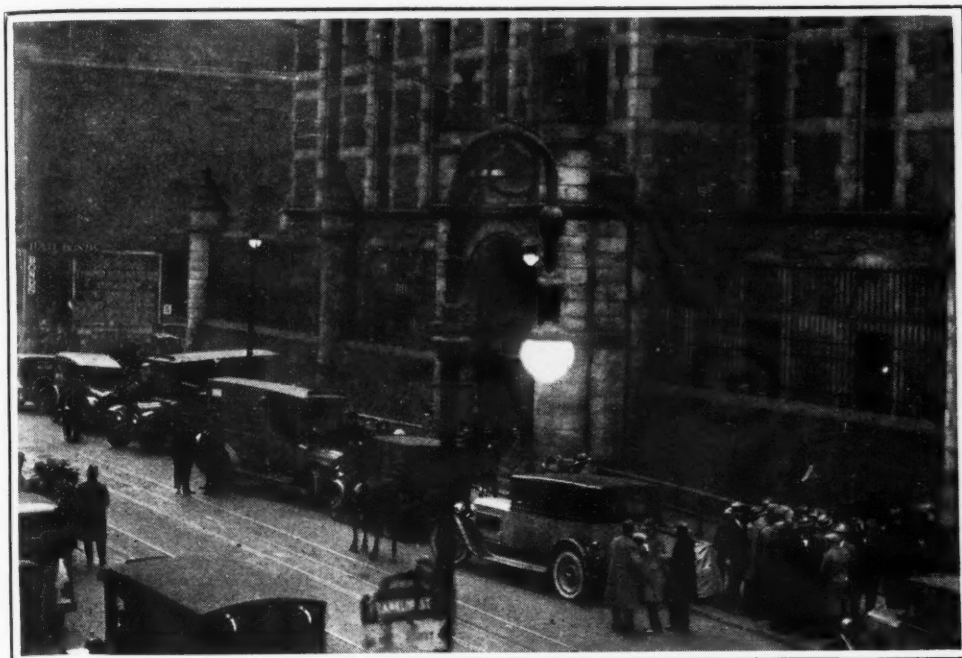
In the United States a criminal case is presented as the People impeaching one of themselves—equals dealing with an equal. But in Britain—to give an illustration that is characteristic of Europe—it is the Crown that prosecutes a subject who has been "disturbing the King's peace"—the note is authority. There is here a distinction which appears to be reflected in actual procedure.

CURBING THE PRESS

The prestige of the Crown is sufficient to control the activities of the press. If a house is robbed the newspapers may describe the discovery. But if they cast suspicion on an individual they lay themselves open to an action for libel in which costs alone—not reckoning damages—are a heavy item. Also at the moment of arrest of a suspect the case becomes *sub judice*. This means that all comment upon it in the press is subject to a new and more serious liability, namely, fine and imprisonment for contempt of court. Trial by newspaper is thus impeded in every way. The case which reaches the public is the case heard in court, and the fact that the public has had to wait for the case means that interest in the actual trial is stimulated.

One result of this method should not be overlooked. In the United States there is often a report of some robbery in which, apparently, a large sum of money has been the plunder. Interest is then exhausted and it is not realized that at some subsequent date the offenders were captured, tried and heavily sentenced. In the British press the climax of a serious crime is the sentence on the criminal.

The conception of law as a discipline enforced by the sovereign authority on the subject is reflected in the status of the judiciary. Taking Europe as a whole, it may be assumed that judges are appointed, not elected, that they are appointed for life and that they are in effect irremovable. For instance, in France a judge is nomi-



Outside the Tombs Prison in New York City

Underwood

nated by the President and can be dismissed only by the Cour de Cassation, the highest tribunal in the land. The judges of Canada and of other British dominions enjoy a similar status.

In Britain a grave case of crime is heard by a judge of the High Court, who is well paid at £5,000, or \$25,000 a year, with a right to a pension. He is appointed by the Lord Chancellor and is irremovable except by joint resolution of both houses of Parliament. Before appointment he may have taken part in politics. After appointment he is supposed to abandon all such aims, nor does he ever return to private practice. It is generally agreed that the prestige of the High Court has been enhanced of late years and has never stood so high as it stands today. It is the security of tenure enjoyed by the judges that makes it possible for them to take so strong a line against any infringement by the press of the field properly reserved for the jurisdiction of the courts.

Less serious cases are heard by County Court Judges, who also are appointed by the Lord Chancellor and can be removed only by his action.

At the base of the pyramid we find the magistrates. In the cities these men give their whole time and receive stipends. In

the boroughs and counties they are unpaid justices of the peace, appointed by the Lord Chancellor and with a less exclusive favor to the Conservative Party than used to be the grievance. The magistrates deal with comparatively trivial cases of disorder, and while their penalties used to be much criticized as erratic there has been in this respect a great improvement. In the event of a magistrate becoming an unsuitable person to discharge his office he can be struck off the list by the Lord Chancellor.

Let us see, then, how the system works. A person is drunk and disorderly, or caught for speeding. He is summoned before the magistrate and either fined or given a light sentence, or told that his case is dismissed. Of these non-indictable offenses in England and Wales the average per annum was 729,868 for the five years 1899-1903. In 1925 the number was only 610,801, and of these 125,032 were due to the breaking of traffic rules. In 1903 there were 230,180 cases of drunkenness. In 1925 the number was only 80,412, a reduction of 149,768. Yet the population has increased from 32,500,000 to 38,000,000.

ESCAPE FROM JUSTICE

Let us consider next the position of a person who knows that he has rendered

himself liable to indictment for a really serious crime. We might suppose that the multiplicity of frontiers in Europe would offer him a chance of escape. But in reality the map of Europe spreads a net in the meshes of which the offender is frequently entangled. A bandit in San Francisco has a clear run from coast to coast, a distance of 3,000 miles, and usually there is an automobile, either his own or stolen, in which he can make it. Not once will he be asked to produce a passport or card of identification. But in Europe every offender is aware that day and night frontiers and coast lines are closely guarded. The aim is not only to capture fugitives from justice, but deserters from conscription and other political suspects. The number of automobiles is far lower per hundred of population than it is in the United States and the range of a run by automobile is restricted to a hundred or two miles, often less than this, in every direction.

Whether escape from justice by a fugitive is really more difficult in Europe than in the United States may be open to question. Judge Atherley Jones of the Lord Mayor's Court in London tells us that, with 60,000 police, there were 112,547 indictable crimes committed in 1924 and only 57,374 persons tried for such crimes. In Newcastle-on-Tyne there were 112 cases of shops and houses broken into and only 64 persons brought to trial. This Judge attributes the phenomenon to "the present antiquated 'beat' system." The burglar sees the policeman pass, knows when he will return and uses the interval.

To these criticisms there is the reply that the police refrain from arrests unless they are fairly sure of a conviction. In Canada there are, roughly, four convictions for five indictments—a high ratio which suggests efficiency of prosecution. In Britain a suspected person may be arrested without warrant, but he must be brought at once before a magistrate and in open court. At the request of the police the magistrate may direct that the prisoner be held for a few days, pending the preparation of the case, which application may be repeated, but no avoidable delay is permitted and in due course the magistrate hears enough of the evidence to justify sending the prisoner forward for trial. It is this preliminary and public hearing which has reduced the proceedings before a Grand Jury in Great Britain to a formality. Against frivolous or tyrannical prosecution it is held that the prisoner is adequately protected.

ecution it is held that the prisoner is adequately protected.

It is often said that in Britain a man is assumed to be innocent unless he is proved to be guilty, whereas in France he is assumed to be guilty unless he is proved to be innocent. Certainly there is a distinction between the methods of prosecution pursued in Britain and the methods which still survive, though not as generally as in earlier days, on the Continent. The British method is "accusatory"; the Continental method has been, at any rate, "inquisitorial." This means that in the British procedure a prisoner is warned—at least in a murder charge—that anything which he says while in custody can be taken down and used in evidence against him. He cannot be or he ought not to be examined except with his solicitor present, and his solicitor has the right to advise him to remain silent and reserve his defense.

In France the prisoner is or has been subject to private examinations, even by a Judge. Legal protection of an accused man is not always admitted on the Continent of Europe as an inherent right of the citizen. In candor it must be added that what is called the "third degree" in the United States would be regarded in Great Britain as a grave abuse of criminal procedure.

All motions that are merely dilatory receive short shrift from a Judge of the High Court. Technical demurrers to the course of justice are also swept aside. There is little challenging of jurymen. The position in law is, of course, that the citizen is always entitled to be tried before a jury. But in practice tens of thousands of cases are heard by Judge and magistrates alone, whose decisions in the main are received as equitable. It is only in serious cases that the jury is indispensable.

A feature of the Scottish system is the third verdict. A jury need not acquit or convict a prisoner. The charge may be returned as non-proven—a verdict which restores his liberty to an accused person, but leaves him under suspicion.

SWIFT JUSTICE REDUCING CRIME

A calendar showing the actual progress of a murder case in Britain is instructive.

May 1—Handbag with blood discovered at Waterloo Station, London.

May 2—Suspect claims bag and is arrested. Volunteered a statement at police station.

May 3—Police search bungalow and find remains of body.

June 6—Magistrate, after five days' hearing, commits prisoner for trial.

July 16—Case tried at Assizes. Five days' hearing.
Sept. 3—After appeal, convicted man hanged.

The experience of Great Britain shows that criminal procedure, like banking and shipping, is a lesson which can be learned only by steady application. It is, perhaps, the last of the lessons to be mastered by a conscious democracy. Centuries after Magna Charta and the glorious revolution of 1688 and the Bill of Rights there were to be seen cartloads of boys and girls in London on their way to the public gallows. It is this situation which has been brought to an end.

For fifty years the number of murders in England and Wales has been uniform at an average of 150 per annum. Allowing for increase of population, it means that the prevalence of homicide is diminishing. That this result is due to prompt arrest and trial may be taken for granted. Whether the death penalty applied in about fifteen cases a year has acted also as a deterrent is a matter of dispute. It is strongly argued that the death penalty imposes a terrible strain on Judge, jury, counsel, prison officials and executioner, and that if the prompt enforcement of the law be maintained this final infliction might be dropped without ill results accruing to society.

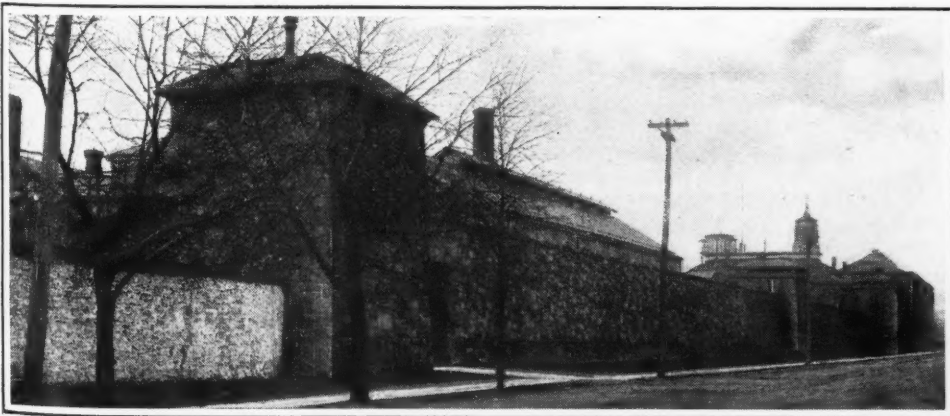
In Britain and over much of Europe there is no phenomenon comparable either with what is called lynching or banditry. In India also, where the British system is at work under unusual conditions, dacoity, or thuggism—the Oriental form of banditry—has been largely suppressed and there is general security for life and property. But it has not been easy to eradicate

the traditional tendency of the native police to extract confessions by means of pressure on the prisoner, and even cruelty.

Because the British police are usually unarmed an offender knows that if he resists arrest and attacks a constable with any kind of lethal weapon he will forfeit all sympathy, whether of Judge or jury. In Britain firearms are permitted, but only under a strict and personal license, which may include the right to shoot game and rabbits. The indiscriminate possession and use of firearms are not encouraged.

That criminals are often weak-minded is a fact that admits of no denial. But generally in Europe it is still held that, apart from a plea of definite insanity, the citizen is responsible for his actions. In two recent cases of murder Lord Chief Justice Hewart, sitting in an appeal, laid it down that "the uncontrollable impulse theory is fantastic," that "it is no part of the law today" and if admitted "would be merely subversive." The idea that a prisoner could claim to be Dr. Jekyll one minute and Mr. Hyde the next was, he said, "sheer nonsense." Right or wrong, that fairly represents the usual attitude. Whatever future may be in store for psychoanalysis as a method of probing the secrets of ill-doing, the position today is that offenses are treated as offenses and not as problems to be solved by the universities.

On the other hand, the policy of releasing offenders on probation is widely applied. In the year 1925 no fewer than 84,580 such persons were released. Fifty years ago the prison population was 30,000, all told. Today it is under 10,000. The number of prisoners serving sentences over fifteen years is infinitesimal.



Trenton (N. J.) Prison

American Lawlessness a Result Of Social Conditions

By SPENCER BRODNEY

FORMER ENGLISH AND AUSTRALIAN NEWSPAPER EDITOR AND CORRESPONDENT

SINCE crime means nothing more or less than violation of the laws made by society for its safety and protection, it should be obvious that any discussion of why those laws are broken should begin with a consideration of social conditions rather than traits and tendencies which a certain school of criminologists would have us believe are inborn in so-called criminal types. An outstanding example of lawlessness that cannot, for example, be traced to innate criminality in the lawbreakers is that afforded in the United States by the prevalence of bootlegging. This and related offenses against law and order were created by the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, and are not the product of inherently sinful human nature.

In order to protect life and property and prevent commotion, society has set up various agencies of government armed with powers of surveillance, coercion and punishment because the social organization, being an attempt to maintain inequalities of status and income, is itself productive of conditions that lead to violation of the laws. Society, in short, by trying to correct the evils which are inherent in itself, decrees that certain acts are crimes and so manufactures criminals out of those individuals who are for the most part socially in a more disadvantageous position than the rest of their fellows. The criminal fraternity is, as we well know, recruited most largely from those classes which suffer most from poverty, precarious and unhealthy employment, and other evil conditions of life and labor. People who enjoy regular incomes or regular employment and who are able to lead comfortable, decent and self-respecting lives do not as a rule take to crime, a fact that was understood long ago by the Greek philosopher who said that the first requisite for a virtuous existence was a sufficiency of the world's goods.

Generally speaking, the conditions that lead to crime in the United States are the same as in all modern civilized countries; but we are not at present so much con-

cerned with this universal aspect of the problem as with the causes of the specific forms of lawlessness which are found in this country, and which have come to be regarded as peculiarly American in the eyes of the rest of the world. If, for example, a single American city can show a record of more murders, hold-ups and other deeds of violence in one day than take place in a whole year throughout the length and breadth of a leading European country, then there must be something peculiar to American social conditions that produces such a result.

To one who is familiar with life in the other English-speaking countries, the first impression that American life produces is its restlessness, its adventurousness, and its consequent instability. Even the passing of the present law to restrict immigration did not mark an end of that continual movement of population which characterized the colonizing and pioneering periods. We have seen quite recently, for example, a wild rush to Florida by thousands of men urged by the hope of "getting rich quick"—a wild rush essentially the same as took the gold-seekers to California and caused the later migrations to the various regions that have become States beyond the confines of the original Colonies. The impress of the roving habits of the American population is still distinctly evident, and is one of the ingredients that have entered into the spirit of lawlessness, which is far less characteristic of long-settled communities with their traditions of social obligation and good citizenship. Incidentally, too, the freedom to move about in a country as large as the United States has made it easier for lawbreakers to escape punishment, or in the popular phrase, "to get away with it."

This restlessness with its flux of people going to and fro over the continent is a result of conditions which arose out of the opening up of an extensive territory rich in natural resources and providing boundless opportunities for individual enterprise. But with the benefits of legitimate initiative, there also came the evils which have made

the rapid acquisition of wealth an aim to be pursued regardless of all other considerations. The average American's "get rich quick" philosophy is probably the greatest single cause of his inferior sense of social obligation when contrasted with that of the European whose land is not one of such rich and varied opportunity and who, though no less eager for wealth, recognizes the much narrower limitations within which he lives. Though the conditions of American development have elevated the scramble for wealth almost to the level of a national religion, this "get rich quick" conception of life is unfortunately altogether inadequate, since everybody cannot in the nature of things get rich either quickly or in any other way. There may be thousands of wonderful opportunities, but there are millions of individuals who seek them, and therefore the great majority, no matter how bold and enterprising, are doomed to an existence that is far less enchanting and even less comfortable than originally expected.

In the Old World the poor and lowly have been accustomed to accept their lot without undue complaint, but American life has engendered a different spirit. If there is one thing that throws the temperament of the individual American into sharp relief against the character of almost every other people in the world, it is his fiery unwillingness to humiliate himself. Moreover, he will brook no restraint because democratic theory has taught him that he is as good as any other man, and perhaps better, and in a country which has no castes or privileged classes and where he has seen men of as humble origin as his own rise to affluence, he believes he is right in refusing to accept defeat in the struggle for an ampler existence.

"GET-RICH-QUICK" PHILOSOPHY

Given, then, this roving spirit, this rampant individualism, this "get-rich-quick" philosophy of life, and this crude belief in equality, for all of which American history offers abundant evidence and which has not been modified by the traditions of older and more stable communities, what happens when, as we have already noted, there are not enough golden opportunities for the millions that seek them? Lawlessness, as a temperamental quality, becomes translated into definite lawbreaking. If the attempt to "get rich quick" does not succeed within the law, means must be found to succeed in ways more or less dubious. Unfortunately, public opinion, or the social

conscience, being not as highly developed as it should be, there has always been, in comparison to the older European communities, a tendency not to think too harshly of the successful lawbreaker. "It's all right if you can get away with it" is a sentiment more frequently expressed by the man in the street in America than in such countries as England, France and Germany. Of course, one should add the reservation that America, too, has its class of good citizens who are as law-abiding as any, but the point is that among the mass of the American people there is a stronger tendency to condone successful crime.

EFFECT OF POLITICAL CORRUPTION

Inextricably interwoven with the lawlessness of American life is the corruption of American politics, again a product of the conditions already mentioned. In no country of the world, not even in Great Britain, is politics entirely free from some kind of corruption or sinister influence; but in America, the system of graft, particularly in local politics, is unique because of its close alliance with the activities of criminals, crooks and the numerous nondescripts who make up the underworld. This is seen in the special sense in which the word "protection" is used in connection with offenses which it is the duty of the police to prevent. How often has one heard of an offender who openly boasts that he is not afraid of the consequences of violating this or that law because he has a "pull" with a certain Judge, legislator, police official or political boss? It would, of course, be impossible for a malefactor to have a "pull" if the administrators of the law were upright and honorable men. But they are not, for the majority of politicians, also inspired by the "get-rich-quick" philosophy, use the positions which they obtain for what they will yield in tribute.

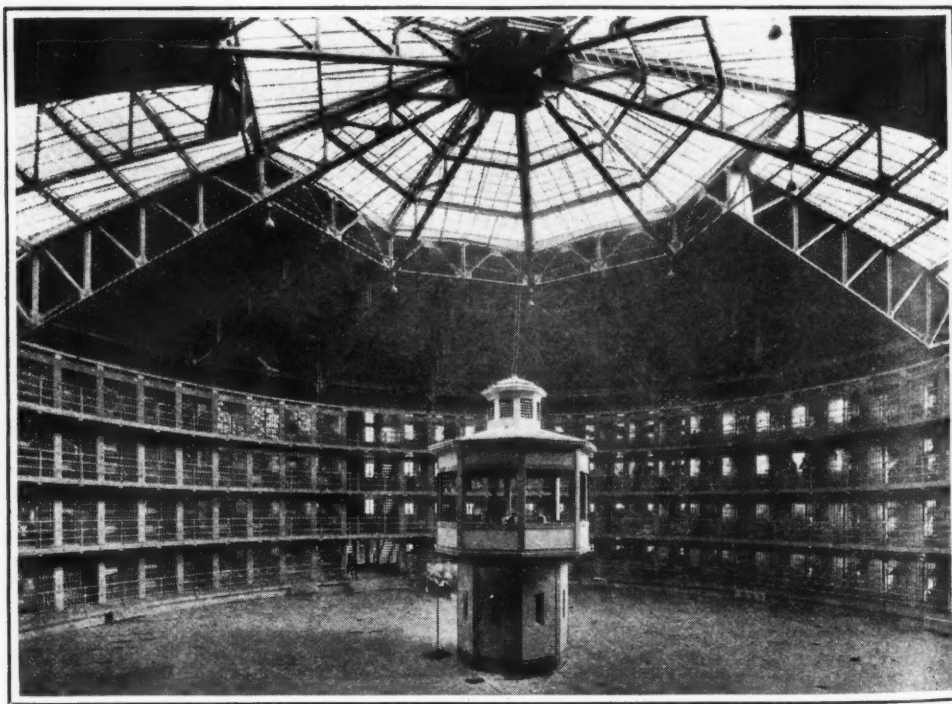
If the psychology of American lawlessness is the result of the conditions disclosed by a study of the nation's social history, the actual deeds which spread out into what is called a "crime wave" flow from the very institutions which have been created to maintain law and order. In other words, the machinery devised to administer justice has largely broken down, not because of any formal defects, but because of the attitude of all who operate or come into contact with it. If you have corrupt Judges, grafting police officers, dishonest lawyers, and a whole army of perverters of justice, violation of the laws assumes an aspect which no amendment of the laws

themselves can ever change. If one gunman escapes punishment, when obviously he should have paid the penalty, other criminals, hitherto loath to go to the same extreme, will be encouraged to shoot as well as to rob. And so the use of fire-arms as part of the criminal's tools of trade extends until we have Chicago's daily record of murders. But if the administrators of the law were to cut themselves entirely clear from the criminal fraternity, if corruption and graft were eliminated altogether, gunmen would soon become scarcer. However, these "buts" and "ifs" as yet have little bearing upon the question, because the American people are still under the influence of exaggerated ideas of individualism and the "get-rich-quick" philosophy.

AN UNDISCIPLINED PEOPLE

Human nature in the United States is not one whit better or worse than elsewhere, but the manner in which a comparatively new country has been so rapidly developed has given it a set of political, social and cultural institutions that are

much more liable to corruption and perversion by the money-making fervor of an energetic but undisciplined people. Whereas the European regards himself as obliged to obey laws, the American, on finding them irksome, seeks some way of either evading or violating them, and instead of the dispenser of justice being determined to compel obedience, he is more inclined to be in sympathy with the offender, particularly if some motive of self-interest comes into play. Judge and juror, prosecuting attorney and defending counsel, the victim and the malefactor, all are creatures of the same conditions that make American life what it is—a confusion of individual ambitions out of which only slowly are emerging the standards of communities long enough settled in their ways of life to have a stronger and keener sense of law and order. This, in short, is the explanation of why crime in America has its distinctive characteristics as apart from the causes which lead to crime everywhere, the chief of which is the existence of a numerous class of poverty-stricken, precariously employed and ill-educated, ill-cared-for people.



Wide World

Inside one of the buildings of the Illinois State penitentiary at Stateville

Economic Factors in Criminality

By V. F. CALVERTON

EDITOR AND AUTHOR

MY experiences in Soviet Russia have led me, upon my return to America, to reconsider the criminal problem as it exists in this country. As the crime wave reaches its climax in the Chicago situation, and spreads over the country with the swiftness of an epidemic, it is time to take inventory of the actual nature of the problem. From every point of view the outlook is grave. Though America has less unemployment than England, and a proletariat that is more prosperous, crime, nevertheless, has alarmingly increased; while in England it has calculably diminished. Crime commissions have been numerous, but their investigations and influence negligible and dubious. The remedies suggested have been sterile of value. Some of them have been nothing more than revivals of antiquated measures that were long ago repudiated as ineffective and impotent. In no sense can it be said that the approach to the problem has been practical in terms of modern methods or adequate in its consideration of causal factors.

By way of preliminary observation, note the attitude of Soviet Russia toward the criminal problem. The problem has been studied there in detail and with definite desire to eradicate its fundamental origins. Capital punishment in Soviet Russia has been abolished. The maximum penalty that a man can get for murder is eight years, though in the case of counter-revolutionary activity, which is interpreted as treason, the death sentence is often resorted to as a punitive device. In this scheme of punishment several curious characteristics are immediately noticeable. In the first place, thievery is condemned with inexorable decision. While a man can get only eight years for murder, a Communist can be shot for the embezzlement of even a small fund—at least he will get ten years imprisonment, a penalty that is more drastic than the ordinary sentence for murder. This is one of the methods used by the Communists to combat corruption. Assuming the success of this method, by curbing corruption murder itself is diminished. Scores of murders undoubtedly result from, or are indirectly caused by, thievery and political brigandage. Let us take our own

attitude as a contrast. That political corruption and unadulterated graft and thievery exist within the precincts of our own National Government and invade the heart of city, country and State legislature is known by the journalist and politician and understood by the public. Such a condition nurtures crime. It encourages corruption and thus abets criminality. Its psychological effect alone is grave. It teaches the ease with which some people can get money without labor. What American citizen believes that the United States Government is free of graft, chicanery and other corruption? This attitude breeds a contempt for the laws made by this Government.

In Soviet Russia such a situation would have been treated in an entirely different fashion. The corruption would have been fought to a bitter conclusion. It would have been uprooted and annihilated. To have allowed it to continue would have been a stark denial of the very attitude of its régime. The State is organized not for the monetary gain of its directors, but for the benefit and progress of the workers. There are, therefore, few greater or more grievous crimes than using this function, which is social in character, for personal gain. In all the criticisms and attacks upon democracy this weakness is stressed. Even Bryce, in his *American Commonwealth*, pointed out this tendency which, in its way, undermines the entire ethical structure of the modern democratic State. What we are endeavoring to point out is not the reality of this fact, which is known, but its importance in explaining something of the seriousness of the "crime situation" in our country. In no other nation in the world has industrial control advanced to such an extent that it can so openly defy the very ethical propositions to which its apparent theory of life is dedicated, and not be forced to compromise or retreat. All Europe speaks of "dollarized" America and the acquisitiveness of American diplomacy. Is it any wonder, then, that everywhere in America, among intellectuals of all classes, conservatives, liberals and radicals, the question is continuously renewed—Is democracy a failure? This state of mind en-

courages crime, nurtures lawlessness and fosters irresponsibility.

Crime commissions have been organized in many of the leading cities of America. The crime situation has obsessed the public mind. In Chicago, Cleveland, Baltimore, Los Angeles, Kansas City and New York, citizens have organized Crime Commissions, devoted to the task of curbing the crime menace by the adoption of one expedient or another. In Missouri the Missouri Association for Criminal Justice, a Statewide organization, has been created. In addition, national organizations such as the National Crime Commission have been organized. All this activity evidences not only the interest in the problem but the gravity of it.

These commissions, however, have not succeeded in effecting results of any consequence because their approach has been unscientific and superficial. The remedies suggested have disclosed their incompetency. Punitive ferocity has been one of their most frequent recommendations. The whipping post should be revived, the pillory reestablished. Pleas of insanity should be ignored. Parole should be abandoned. The death penalty should be extended to include punishment for more crimes; every murderer should suffer death for his crime; leniency should be eschewed. Such has been the attitude that has predominated in the minds of the populace and even of many of the reform associations.

FALLACY OF THE PUNITIVE THEORY

No greater fallacy underlies criminal practice today than the punitive theory. Let us take the matter of capital punishment as an example. As early as 1846 Portugal abolished capital punishment; in 1870 Holland did; in 1890 Italy; in 1902 Norway; in 1903 Russia; in 1918 Austria; in 1921 Sweden; in 1925 New Zealand. In small countries such as Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, San Marino and Rumania, capital punishment is erased from the legal statutes. Brazil, Venezuela and Argentina in South America, and Costa Rica, Colombia and Honduras in Central America have also abolished capital punishment. In Denmark and Belgium, where the provision for capital punishment has not been rendered void, there have been no executions, however, for over three decades; and in Finland, where the same situation exists, no executions have been held for almost a hundred years. In the United States a similar condition prevails in very few States. No executions have been held in Michigan since 1847, in Rhode Island since 1852, in Wis-

consin since 1853, in Kansas since 1872, in Maine since 1886, in Minnesota since 1911, in North and South Dakota since 1915.

Has the abolition of capital punishment in these countries and States produced alarming results? Has crime mounted as capital punishment was removed? Only in two of these countries, Italy and Russia, has a return to the original method been deemed expedient, and in both instances it was only the extenuating conditions of a social crisis, the presence of dictatorships that depended upon force for their survival, that necessitated such a reaction. (And since then capital punishment in Soviet Russia, as we pointed out, has been largely abandoned.)

In Italy, for instance, statistical investigations are singularly illuminating and instructive. Aside from the chaotic post-bellum period, with its Mussolini parading picturesquely in the foreground—a period unfair as a criterion because of its extraordinarily uncertain and turbulent character—the only crime that decreased in Italy was murder, for which capital punishment was abandoned in 1890. The annual average of homicides in Italy before capital punishment was abolished was 4,089 between 1887-89; between 1890-92, after capital punishment had disappeared, the average was 3,993; between 1893-95 the average was 4,013, and in 1896 it was 3,988.

No better illustration of the ineffectiveness of capital punishment can be found than in the example quoted by Fishman in *Crucibles of Crime* in reference to pocket-picking:

Years ago in England, they hanged men for a large number of crimes, among them pocket-picking. Executions were public, and many thousands of people attended them. It was found that so many hundreds of persons engaged in picking the pockets of those who attended hangings for pocket-pickings that the authorities were forced to abandon public executions. When men pick pockets while watching others being hanged for the same offense, what little deterrent effect punishment has can easily be seen.

Later Parliament repealed most of these laws and discovered that an outbreak of license did not occur, as the Conservatives had scoldingly augured. The abolition of the debtors' prison, for instance, and the removal of penalty for debt, caused no increase in the number of debtors or defaulted contracts. Lombroso has shown (in *L'Uomo Delinquente*) by statistical proof, that in Italy assaults were renewed and multiplied notwithstanding the most severe penalties, and also that as to brigandage severity of punishment served only to in-

crease it. Clarence Darrow, in referring to statistics in reference to England, states that "the English people strangely found out that so fast as they did away with punishing men by death, crime decreased instead of increased, that the smaller the penalty the fewer the crimes." Such a statement, however, is made in too hasty and unscientific a fashion. The decrease in crimes that Darrow noted did not result from the decrease in severity of punishment, but from changes in the material conditions of the populace. It is equally true, however, in the light of scientific investigation, that increasing criminality would not have been due to a lightening of punishment. Capital punishment, or any severity of punishment, it is obvious, does not decrease crime, but brutalizes the community that inflicts it.

SOVIET TREATMENT OF CRIME

It is not, then, by this method that we can fight the crime wave with which we have been overwhelmed. Soviet Russia in continuing to resort to capital punishment for counter-revolutionary offenses is not lessening the number of counter-revolutionists. This method is inevitably destined to failure. In all other respects, however, Soviet Russia treats crime as an economic phenomenon, and, therefore, combats it from the economic angle. Let us take prostitution as a single example. It does not attempt to fight the prostitute by punishment, but it teaches her a trade, helps her to a position, provides her with access to a home, and, where necessary, has organized a régime to take care of 3,000 women of this class who might otherwise have proved a spreading menace. In order to prevent others from becoming prostitutes, it does not preach punishment as the corrective, but passes a resolution which forbids the "laying-off" of single girls until all employes of other groups have been first dismissed. This saves the single girl from the poverty that leads to prostitution. This is approaching the problem of crime from its economic side; it is an attempt to get at its cause, and not merely to deal with its overt manifestations.

In America we have what at first glance seems a curious contradiction in criminal phenomena. Although our country is more prosperous than England, and with a proletariat, as we mentioned in an earlier paragraph, that has both better living conditions and higher wages, our crime rate is much larger. We may quote *The Nation* (Oct. 7, 1925):

Fifty years ago there were incarcerated in British prisons 10,000 persons serving sentences of penal servitude and 20,000 convicted of lesser crimes; at present there are 1,600 of the former and 8,000 of the latter class with 1,100 juvenile offenders in addition. This marks an extraordinary decrease in the criminal population during a period in which the population at large was increasing something like 60 per cent. The number of prison institutions has diminished correspondingly from thirteen penal servitude centers in 1875 and eleven local prisons to four penal centers and thirty-one local prisons. The Home Secretary attributes this enviable record to several causes; better and more widespread education, an improved standard of living, the parole system and a more enlightened treatment of prisoners during their incarceration. We in the United States who have a very different series of figures to contemplate, have bettered our living standards, have extended our educational system and have in some cases, at least, improved vastly our prisons and the treatment of prisoners. And still crime in the United States is on the increase and on Jan. 1, 1923, there were in federal penitentiaries, State prisons, county and city jails and the like 108,939 persons, a percentage of the population three times as high as England's prison class.

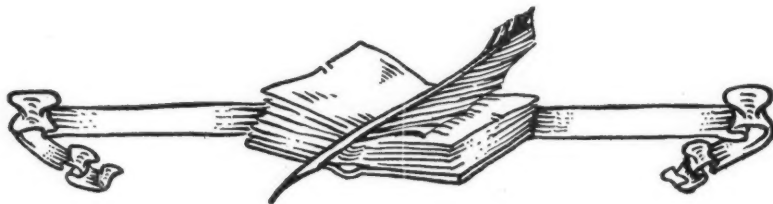
From this array of statistics it would appear that economic conditions play little part in the determination of criminal phenomena. In reality, this is not the case at all. It is simply that the economic conditions and the clash of economic classes in America have taken such a peculiar and subtle turn that the actual situation is hidden by the apparent. American prosperity coinciding with prohibition, for instance, has rarely been understood in relationship with the economic factor of labor and unemployment. It is seldom that the comparative absence of a large unemployed class in America during the last five or six years has been connected with the advance of bootlegging as a vocation and an industry. The importance of this is not to be minimized. The reserve of labor which under our present system of industrial production would constitute an unemployed class, as it does in England today in such appalling proportions, is diverted into the bootlegging business and thereby habituated to lawlessness that stops not even at murder. The habit of lawlessness is a dangerous influence in ways that are not difficult to observe. It is not only in the lawlessness that bootlegging itself induces that the danger is to be detected, but in the general effect which violation of one law has in encouraging the violation of others. Youth, for instance, has been particularly contemptuous of the "prohibition law"; the investigation of social workers,

the report of the Federal Council of Churches and even the inquiries of the magazine *Liberty* have all confirmed this fact. This is a psychological tendency that must not be neglected. Its effects are to be noted in the increasing crimes among the youth of the nation.

We thus have two odd contradictions in our economic and political life that increase crime in subtle as well as overt fashion. The tendency to permit the political corruption that infests governing bodies to continue unattacked, or at least not fought in any systematic or social manner, is an influence more sinister than is ever suspected. And the tendency of prohibition to divert the reserve labor supply into the channels of the bootlegging business, thereby augmenting criminality, is the second contradiction in our category. In other words, it is the economic conditions in America that cause our crime wave, only they do not express themselves in the expected and obvious form of unemployment and poverty. Prohibition has encouraged instead of discouraged drinking, increased instead of decreased intoxication, and, furthermore, it has eaten into the ethical attitude of the nation. The bootleggers themselves have become an economic group that exercises influence upon political parties, police magistrates, and social organizations. The spirit of corruption has become dominant. Defiance of law has become a widespread practice that extends from bootlegger to co-ed. Unemployment finds an outlet in bootlegging. But more than this—everything connected with bootlegging becomes contaminated. Both the minds of those who purchase bootleg liquors and those who attempt to arrest those who sell the liquors become corrupted. General

Lincoln C. Andrews, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of prohibition enforcement, testified that 875 prohibition agents had been dismissed from the service for delinquency or misconduct, and that there are now only 3,000 prohibition agents employed, although in the last six years over 10,000 agents had been registered. General Andrews also admitted that occasionally an agent could make \$50,000 to \$75,000 from graft, although many accepted much smaller sums.

In the face of these facts it is obvious that we can explain our phenomenal crime situation only in the economic terms that we have described. Again the analogy of Soviet Russia arises. Prohibition was tried there but wisely abandoned. The manufacture of *somagunka* (illegally manufactured liquor) became as much of a menace as our bootleg products. Today liquors are made and manufactured by Government distilleries, and drunkenness and crime in no sense have increased as a result. Where corruption is allowed to exist, and is accepted, however, whether it be in matters political or personal, those concerning the making of statutes or the manufacture of drink, the tendency to crime will be marked and profound. Economic advantages and psychological habits accrue that are disastrous in character. Crime will not disappear with the removal of political corruption and the laws enforcing prohibition, because the very economic character of our industrial society, with its class divisions and financial disparities, will continue to cause it—but it will be decreased. For the moment we are concerned with the immediate reduction of the evil. Eventually, however, only a new economic order can eliminate its major manifestations.



Bad Men and Good Behavior

By M. W. WADE

FORMERLY PAROLE OFFICER, LEAVENWORTH FEDERAL PENITENTIARY

AS a Federal officer who has come into contact with criminals of all classes, actual and so-called, let me make it clear at the start that I am not one of those smug and unctuous persons who glibly classify men as "good" and "bad." In the light of experience I am afraid that the man who so classifies his fellows describes himself more thoroughly than he describes others. I have seen enough good in the worst of criminals and enough bad in the best of citizens to make me wary of arbitrary classifications.

Not long ago I heard a high Government official say that probably every other man one meets on the street could be prosecuted for something or other if only he were checked up closely enough. If that is true, and if all men who are subject to prosecution are bad men, then we are in a bad way, indeed. But I am going to tell something about a community of 3,000 bad men or criminals, who are made to be good, and the nomenclature I use is simply one of convenience. In a brief discussion of law enforcement in this community and the contrasts it affords with the behavior-muddle in the rest of the country at large, I propose to use plain and unambiguous language.

A lot of nonsense is being promulgated in respect of criminology and penology, crime waves, crime tides and so forth. Deep thinkers, investigators, lawmakers and parlor penologists are delineating causes, advancing remedies and viewing situations with alarm. Criminals are misconducting themselves and "something must be done about it." But no two alarmists seem to agree on just what should be done or how it should be accomplished. The only point of unanimity seems to be that the other fellow must be made to behave himself. One wonders why some of those who discuss crime so glibly do not investigate the behavior of criminals in communities which are made up practically of nothing else but practitioners of crime and which are models of deportment, order and obedience to law. The means of compelling good conduct—obedience to law—among criminals and so-called criminals is in some of

these communities obvious, efficacious, humane and effective.

I have been over practically all the settled portions of North America, have resided in a number of cities and have lived in a few small towns, but not until I entered a Federal penitentiary as an officer did I find what may fairly be considered a model community with reference to law and order—a community made up wholly of lawbreakers, plain and fancy, criminals expert and incorrigible. And yet this community in the matter of behavior would put the average town to shame!

"But they are made to behave!" you exclaim. Precisely. "But——." Wait, please. The objector has only read or heard of this community. I worked in it for years. In this penitentiary, which, incidentally, is the largest in the United States (but not large enough!) prisoners are divided according to conduct into three classes: First, second and third grades. Every man enters the place as a first-grade prisoner and with a clean sheet, no matter what crime he has been convicted of or how long his criminal record may be, and he is entitled to all the privileges pertaining thereto. Second grade prisoners are such because of violation of the prison laws, as are, of course, those of the third grade. In May, 1925, the classification was as follows: First grade, 3,188; second grade, 48; third grade, 9.

When one considers that all these men are classed as criminals (half their number being habitual and professional lawbreakers); that the temptations for misbehavior are every bit as frequent and alluring, comparatively, as they are outside the walls; that practically every man is classified under a high standard according to his deserts, the figures just given must be somewhat amazing. It proves among other things that criminals can be made to behave themselves—and like it. Immediately the reader may interpose with the observation that these men are constantly and efficiently observed. True, there is a close supervision of conduct in prison, but considering only male adults outside and in, there are proportionately no more spies, officers and regulators in this prison than in cities gen-

erally throughout the country. That, however, is not the answer.

Laws in prison are violated for the same reasons that cause their violation outside—carelessness, ignorance and intent. The first two reasons are not accepted as excuses in prison any more than outside, though they may possibly serve to some extent as mitigants. But unlike the outside world, where no human being can possibly be familiar with the thousands and thousands of laws which he ludicrously is assumed to have a knowledge of, the prison laws are not so numerous that they cannot all be learned. Another contrast that those who discuss the subject may well take note of is that the laws inside the prison are confined to those which are necessary to the preservation of order, safety of person and property, decency and health. To be sure there are professional reformers among the prison population, but they are not there in the capacity of agitators for the enactment of regulations to control the diet, thoughts, dress and opinions of their fellows.

EFFICIENT JUSTICE

What, then, is the answer? It is that punishment for lawbreaking is administered swiftly, remorselessly, impartially and fairly and that the officials who administer it (I am speaking only of this particular community) are efficient and respected. Nowhere is justice dispensed with such simplicity, fairness and dispatch. Lying and dissimulation immediately dissipate any possible presumption of innocence, and the penalty is swift and sure. On the other hand, a frank avowal of an offense might provide some mitigation of punishment, but not immunity by any means. Here in the prison court the habitual lawbreaker has a wretched time of it. He can get there no long delays nor appeals to higher courts. Certain punishment is simply a concomitant, a corollary, of law infringement. Money, social status and political influence do not serve here, as they do outside, to gain clemency and immunity. Here, too, there is neither tyranny nor brutality, and in those prisons where men are still treated like beasts the investigator will find that discipline suffers as savagery is practiced. It is much to the credit of human beings, as such, criminals or not, that clubbing and inhumanity have never made them behave. It never will.

Along with swiftness, fairness and certainty of punishment one of the greatest deterrents against lawbreaking in prison is

the impartiality of justice. Here, again, is a striking contrast with the outside world where, as every man knows, punishment for law violation is the exception rather than the rule. At present only two or three felonies out of every hundred are punished by actual imprisonment! Yet there are those who insist that the ninety-odd criminals—including the rich and powerful—will be deterred if the two or three only are clubbed more fiercely and hanged higher! I have no briefs for confirmed criminals. Deliberate lawbreaking is a mean and treasonable business. But it is high time that those who have assumed responsibility for the country's destiny in respect of crime should have done with hypocrisy, nonsense and cant. As Mark Twain said of the weather, everybody is talking about it, but no one is doing anything. Parlor penologists might at least have another law passed!

ABLE PRISON OFFICIALS

Where justice is efficacious (in or out of prison) it will be found that it not only is administered fairly, swiftly, surely and impartially, but that those who administer it are respected. The men in charge of the prison where I was an officer are able and sincere. In addition to the officials directly in charge of discipline and administration of the penitentiary, the Federal Superintendent of Prisons is, in my opinion, the greatest individual force for good behavior among prisoners and for cutting down recidivism among discharged convicts that we have in this country. What a contrast these men afford to the ignorance, brutality and venality which every man who has been in penal work knows are common enough characteristics of many of the local and State officials who are serving under the banner of justice. I have seen liquor served by officers to prisoners for pay more than once. I have seen women provided to men in jail. I have seen men beaten and confined in dark and loathsome dungeons in response to pressure brought to bear by private political sources. I have seen men persecuted in the name of law, and once read a letter from an official who helped send certain men to prison, in which he stated that he knew the men to be innocent, but that he thought they should be there on general principles! In the light of these experiences I have the temerity to suggest that the decimation of criminal classes should be begun with some attention to those who have the work in charge. Government—law and order—always is person-

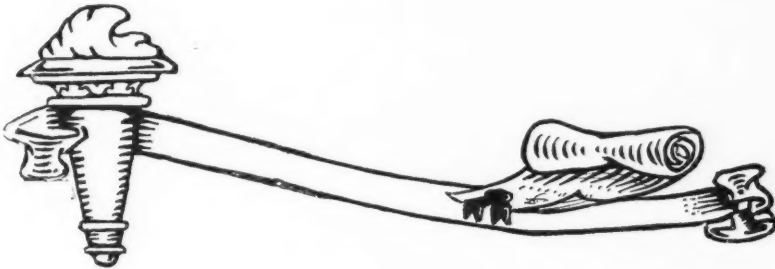
ified in men. One man does not obey another whom he cannot respect.

AN EFFICIENT COURT

Let me describe what I believe to be the most novel and efficient agency of justice in the United States. It is presided over by the Deputy Warden, a man of long experience in handling lawbreakers and in judging his fellows, a man eminently fitted by training and natural endowment for his most difficult job. This prison court is held daily except Sundays in the official's office. There is no congested docket, no long delays between the offense and the trial, no preliminary hearings, no postponements. Written reports of law infringements are made by guards or other officers, and a written summons to appear the following morning is delivered to the offender. He appears. Court is convened immediately after breakfast. Perhaps a dozen or fifteen men are in an anteroom waiting the call of their cases. There is no senseless hocus-pocus of preliminary formalities, the cases averaging five minutes, possibly, for hearing and judgment. The culprit's number is called and he steps inside the "court room" and stands before the official who has before him both the written charge and the complete prison and pre-prison record of the man at bar. The official reads the charge without comment but with a keen and inquiring glance. If a man has a "case" he will be heard fairly and fully. Lying is so difficult and unprofitable in this place that few attempt it. The very simplicity and ruthless directness of the

proceeding seems to make even an adept at falsehood tell the truth. I have seen men in the anteroom busy fixing up their alibis, but when called within they have answered the charge by saying simply, "I did it." Judgments in this court range from admonitions, which usually consist of "Better stop it," to "Turn to the left as you go out," which means turning down the hall for a period of solitary confinement with meagre rations and no tobacco. I rarely have heard a man say that he did not get a square deal. I repeat that no brutal or inhuman punishment is ever assessed in this court, yet the hardest men fear and respect it because, again, justice is fair, swift, impartial and certain. That kind of justice has made a community of model behavior out of a population where every man is a "bad" man. If it will compel bad people to be good in a prison, the same kind of treatment will make bad people be good outside of prison.

My long contact with criminal classes leads me to assume an uncompromising position with reference to the incurable, habitual and professional criminal that he should be confined for life. He is the crux of the whole problem. But let us be honest enough to admit that citizens' committees, vigilantes, savage punishments, hysteria and hokum will not suffice to solve the problem. Centring the whole attack on the criminal will not suffice because he is a product, not a cause, and the conditions which produce him are national in scope and character. While these are being overhauled he can be made to behave, however. In a few communities it is being done this season.



The View of Crime Held by Eminent Russian Writers

By FRANCIS SNOW

FORMER INSTRUCTOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; HEAD OF RUSSIAN BUREAU (U. S.), COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION, DURING THE WORLD WAR

ONE of the fathers of the modern psychiatric theory of the origin of crime, and its proper treatment, was Feodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky, the great Russian writer known chiefly for his psychological novel *Crime and Punishment*, written in 1866 at the zenith of his creative power. Leaving aside his other works, notably *The Injured and the Insulted*, *The Demons*, *The Idiot*, *The Adult and The Brothers Karamazov*, which expressed many of his characteristic social theories, we may point out that *Crime and Punishment* embodied in embryo the whole psychiatric conception of crime as it is conceived today by many noted criminologists and penologists.

It is safe to say that if the Czar's Government had put this conception into practice the Russian Revolution would have been at least deferred. The Czar's excuse was a virtual state of revolution. As for the Soviet Government, it similarly pleads in extenuation of the Red Terror and its summary execution of counter-revolutionary plotters and even of corrupt officials the extraordinary conditions created by the revolution. Nonetheless, the Dostoevskian attitude toward crime is that generally held by the Russian people, as every one who knows the Russian people well will testify. The conception is peculiarly Russian. Governments are not people. Often a Government, as the annals of history amply demonstrate, falls far below the idealistic potentialities of its people. So has it been in Russia.

But that does not impair the sublimity of the Dostoevskian conception—a view not born in the peaceful surroundings of a writer's study, but the product of long and intense personal anguish. Dostoevsky's four years of exile in Siberia were years of terrible bitterness and indescribable suffering, during which he was herded with the lowest and most degraded of Russian criminals. One must know Russia; one must have actually seen the type to know what this means. This experience gave Dostoevsky a deep insight into the workings of the criminal mind and its abysses. The result

of this and his brooding over the endless possibilities of good and evil, sin and expiation, was the writing of *Crime and Punishment*, one of the most poignant books that have ever appeared in the annals of literature. Intensely morbid, at times sordid, yet interspersed with sublime passages of compassion for the fallen and degraded souls, who are still capable of ecstatic moments of self-devotion and sometimes repentance, this book expressed Dostoevsky's most convinced conclusions. In the elaboration of the doctrine of love as the only effective solution of evil and sin, and the condemnation of the use of physical force, Dostoevsky anticipated his great successor, Tolstoy, who late in life became a self-elected apostle of the application of the teachings of Christ to modern life.

Love, then, pity, comprehension, were the foundation stones of Dostoevsky's theory—the typically Russian theory—of humanity's proper attitude toward criminals and criminality; and that was essentially the leit-motif of Tolstoy's *Resurrection*. The same typically Russian view is found in novels and plays by Maksim Gorky, Leonid Andreiev and other Russian writers. In more recent days Jacob Wassermann, the Austrian writer, elaborated the same theory in his monumental novel *The World's Illusion*, a long and confused work, showing plainly the influence of both Dostoevsky and Tolstoy; in the first case, the hero's communion with, sympathy for and understanding of the murderer; in the second place, both in the hero's attitude toward crime and his emulation of Nekhludov, the hero of *Resurrection*, in giving away all his earthly possessions to the poor.

Dostoevsky's novel electrified the reading public in Russia in 1866 and made a profound impression on Europe when it was published in Paris in French translation in 1867. The mingled elements of melancholy, brooding, tenderness and a marvelous faculty of inspiring the emotions of terror and pity soon made the work a world classic; and there is no doubt whatever that it has exercised a tremendous influence, at

least in the penumbral regions of men's minds, in slowly shaping and evolving a more humane attitude toward crime.

But between the Dostoevskian-Tolstoyan, in general, Russian attitude toward crime and the viewpoint of the modern psychiatrist, there is a difference. Not so great, of course, as that which divides the Russian conception from the age-old system of punishment, which today in America, owing chiefly to the "crime wave," is developing into such extreme recourses as the Baumes law. Between the Russian view of love, compassion, non-violence, comprehension—the view that the criminal is not born, but made by the defects of the very society that condemns and punishes him, sometimes with almost medieval ferocity, and by the disintegrating and destructive effects of a wrong environment—and the viewpoint of penological justice as practiced in the United States, England and Europe generally, there is all the difference between darkness and light.

The psychiatric view, on the contrary, is a modern application of the Russian attitude. How much of the Russian theory of the need of human "love" is in it is open to question. The Professor of Historical Sociology, the expert on criminology, the enlightened Director of Prisons, see the problem mainly, it may be suspected, as a purely scientific one. If not based on love, it is based on what is, or purports to be, comprehension of the origin of crime and the development of the criminal mentality. The criminal is sick; what he needs is not punishment, but medical treatment. On this theory, logically carried out, capital punishment would become unthinkable, and our prisons would have to be transformed into psychiatric hospitals for neurotic and pathological criminals. Public opinion is very much divided between the two conflicting conceptions; many sensible and intelligent men assert that the American tendency to "coddle" the criminal, to seek to derive his criminal activity from pathological "complexes," from an inherited neurotic temperament and unwholesome environment, and to make of him a victim of society, rather than the reverse, thus bringing about considerable modifications in the old system of rigid punishment, is, indirectly or directly, an encouragement to criminal activity.

As for the Russian conception of "love," "sympathy" and "comprehension" as a solution of the crime problem, most 100 per cent. American citizens hoot this view of "the great White Christ that comes out of Russia" with unqualified derision. In justifi-

cation of their attitude, the ever increasing number of brutal murders, hold-ups and acts of thuggery may be cited. Many, if not most, of the criminals, they assert, go into crime as a business, to make an easy, if dangerous, living, encouraged in this by the manifold opportunities for escaping the penalty by the wide latitude of American criminal procedure, and the alleviations in the convict's lot introduced in recent years. The view of mental, nervous or pathological sickness, often due to imperfect glandular functioning and other purely physical disorders, is received by the hundred percenters *cum grano grandissimo salis*. This attitude undoubtedly is a narrow one, and the most that can be said of it is that it can be only in part correct. In an extraordinarily complex problem it undoubtedly represents a factor.

Meanwhile, the modern psychiatric theory, often connected with the new science of eugenics, is making progress, and it cannot be denied that it is a logical development of the great public interest in psychology, psychoanalysis, behaviorism, and so forth, which has been aroused throughout the world in the last few years.

In short, the world—at least the scientific world—is coming to the Russian conception of crime and punishment. Here again the power of creative thought is demonstrated. True, Dostoevsky's ideas were not new in 1866, but they had never before been so powerfully expressed in terms of human emotion. Those ideas are deeply rooted in the consciousness of the Russian people today, and that instinct of mingled pity and sorrow for the weak, degraded, criminal human soul, born and developed in moral slime and darkness, is bound to assert itself when the revolutionary period is ended, and the Russian colossus rises to face the dawn of a new era. It is, indeed, already asserting itself. The Soviet Government, except in the case of counter-revolutionary conspirators, has abolished capital punishment for crime, including graft. It is humanely attacking the problem of prostitution on the economic side by protecting women workers from dismissal and unemployment. Certain sections of the Soviet legal code, especially the laws providing State protection for unmarried mothers and giving illegitimate children the same legal rights as legitimate—legislation which, in this field, places Soviet Russia among the most enlightened and progressive nations of the modern world—also show the working of the leaven of Russian humanitarianism in the Russia of today.

Can the Law Cure Crime?

By AUSTIN E. BURGESS

EFFORTS at solving the problem of crime by legal means have, in the history of man, swung the entire arc from the primal law of retaliation to the other extreme of maudlin sympathy for the criminal. Nowhere in-between has a thoroughly satisfactory solution of the problem been arrived at. Indeed, in the United States, where sympathy for the criminal seems to be the vogue, the problem is steadily growing more acute.

The celebrated criminal lawyer Clarence Darrow was asked on his seventieth birthday anniversary his opinion of the prospect of solving the crime problem. He shook his head dubiously. "During my half century of practice," he said, "society has made no material advance in the treatment of crime and the criminal."

What Mr. Darrow said was quite true. Speaking from the legal standpoint, there has been no material advance made. We begin to suspect that no great advance in that line will ever be made so long as the law confines itself chiefly to the punishment of criminals. Is it not time, then, for us to look at the matter of crime more analytically, and consider whether there is not something in the nature of most criminals that punishment is unable to alter? Why do certain men and women continue to commit criminal acts when experience has shown them that such acts will probably bring severe punishment?

The biologist has the answer ready for this question. Criminals, he tells us, are nearly always abnormal and usually subnormal. Indeed, few normal persons ever commit crime. If the only criminals we had to deal with were those of normal intelligence and well-balanced temperament, we would have small use for prisons.

Frank L. Christian, M. D., Superintendent of the Elmira Reformatory, New York, in making his report on an exhaustive study of 500 parole violators, showed that of this number 76 per cent. were subnormal, 18 per cent. were unable to care for themselves and should have custodial care, while only 6 per cent. were mentally normal. (This report was on parole violators only. If those who made good on parole had been included, the percentage of defectives would not have been so large.)

The same authority, in discussing the

smaller group known as incorrigibles, said: "Practically all of the persistent violators of the rules of a well-conducted institution will be found to be feeble-minded * * * and I have yet to know of an incorrigible prisoner who could not be so classed."

Why should the fact that a person is abnormal tend to make him a criminal? It is because the abnormals, particularly the subnormals, cannot fully adapt themselves to the restrictions of organized society. They want to do what they want to do without regard to the rights of others. The normal human being has an almost unlimited ability to adapt himself. Put him in any state of society and he will conform if he finds it necessary or desirable. We can no more expect the abnormal, in extreme cases, to adapt himself to social conditions than we could expect a rattlesnake to adapt itself to the caresses of a child.

Medical authorities in daily contact with prisoners have found that fully 50 per cent. of the crimes committed can be traced to mental or physical defects, or deviations recognized in medical practice. Not only do these mental deviations cause the criminal acts, but the nature of the crime is to a considerable extent dependent on the character of these defects in intelligence and temperament.

Of late years it has been discovered that the ductless or endocrine glands have a marvelous effect on personality and conduct. The secretions which these glands pour into the blood regulate our life processes and largely determine our emotions. The ductless glands in many criminals are out of balance. A notable example of this is the case of Leopold and Loeb. These two young men possessed college educations and apparently mature bodies, yet their lawyer succeeded in showing that they were no more responsible than children, because certain of their glands were functioning abnormally.

It has been found that by feeding the secretions of proper glands from animals to a person who has endocrine troubles, he can be restored for the time to the proper glandular balance. Indeed, hereditary idiots known as cretins become normal so long as they are fed the secretions of thyroid glands taken from animals, and revert to their idiocy when the thyroxin is taken away.

But the State cannot attempt to restore all of its criminals to normalcy by feeding them gland extracts, even granting that that is usually the basis of their trouble. Moreover, the whole thing is little understood, and is so complex that it is loaded with dynamite. In these excursions into medical fields we should not forget that it is heredity that makes our glands function normally, or saddles on us endocrine imbalances which can never be removed, and, at most, can be only temporarily alleviated.

MOST CRIMINALS DEFECTIVES

Analysis of the population of almost any prison will disclose that the inmates will practically all come under one of the following heads: Responsible offenders, defective delinquents, psychopaths, epileptics, alcoholics, drug addicts, insane, vagrants and gangsters. Of these, the defective delinquents constitute the largest group, and the responsible offenders the smallest. Practically all the men paroled are responsible offenders or defective delinquents. There is not a chance that any of the others will make good. The responsible offenders usually do make good on parole, and the defective delinquents usually do not.

The defective delinquents constitute the most perplexing problem in criminology. Feeble-mindedness is a defect for which there is no cure. Hence, no amount of punishment will ever make feeble-minded criminals materially different from what they were when incarcerated.

How do we determine when a man is feeble-minded or otherwise mentally defective and how do we determine the degree of

his defect? Is it not presumption for one man to say whether another has a normal mind? It is not. Mentality tests have now been developed to a point where a psychiatrist or psychologist can tell with as much accuracy the strength of a man's mind as a gymnasium instructor can measure the strength of his muscles. There are many recognized mentality tests, some designed to measure intelligence, some temperament and some mechanical aptitude. But the best known of them all is the Simon-Binet intelligence test. By means of this test a trained worker can tell a man's native intelligence with considerably more accuracy than a school teacher can tell whether one of her pupils has learned what he is supposed to have learned during the year.

The Binet intelligence test is more accurate by far than an examination at school, because it takes no account of school learning and depends for its rating entirely on the subject's knowledge of those things which come to a person in his daily life. A college professor would have slight advantage over a backwoodsman under the Binet intelligence test.

THE BINET INTELLIGENCE TEST

Moreover, this intelligence test is not a theoretical standard to which a normal person of any given age *ought* to measure up; it is a standard to which normal persons *do* measure up, as determined by thousands of trials. The sections of the test are graded from questions suitable for a child of three to those suitable for a youth of eighteen. (Incidentally, few adults make a rating higher than this.) A great many more



Convicts in Georgia engaged in road building

Wide World

things could be said about these highly interesting intelligence and temperament tests, but this is enough to give an idea of what they are. Their results are commonly accepted in court as sufficient evidence of the degree of responsibility of the accused.

INHERITANCE A LARGE FACTOR

Now, feeble-mindedness runs in families. So does a tendency toward crime or any other physical or mental trait one can name. There are a number of families known to students of criminology and of eugenics which have been social scourges. Among these are the thousand or more members of the Jukes family and similar numbers of the Kallikaks and the Ishmaels. These are merely outstanding examples. Practically every criminal has criminal kin. Indeed, one who did not would be an anomaly.

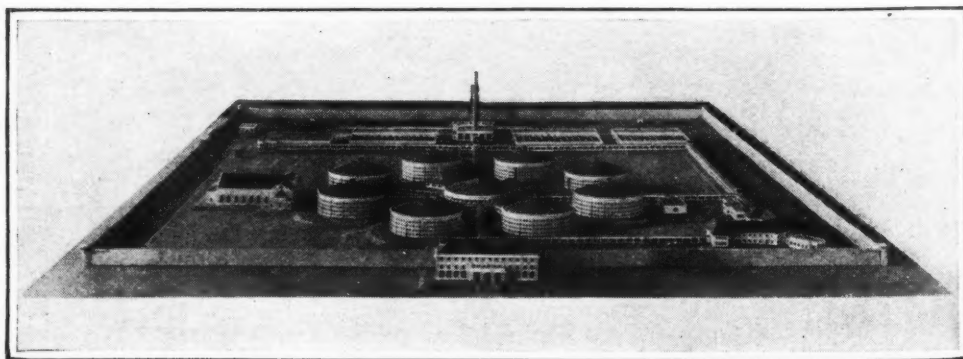
This fact explains to some degree the existence of repeaters or recidivists. Some persons come up for punishment again and again, because the traits they have inherited make it very nearly impossible for them to act other than they do. Reports from Elmira Reformatory, New York, show that at least two-thirds of those committed to this "institution for first offenders" admitted having been previously sent to other institutions, having been on parole or having received a suspended sentence. Of the remaining one-third it is surmised that many had been arrested on criminal charges of which they said nothing at Elmira.

In the Texas State prisons in 1925 there were, of 1,962 convicts, 199 known to have been convicted before and 35 additional several times before. Of a total of 1,979 in prison in 1926, 146 were known to have been convicted before and 46 additional were convicted several times before. Unless we are to assume that these men found the Texas State prisons such delightful places to be in

that they had a hankering to get back, we must conclude that there was something about the men which made them unable to refrain from criminal acts. The number of men returned to prison the second and third times would have been much greater had all those who committed additional criminal acts been promptly apprehended and re-sentenced.

Criminal character arises from criminal temperament and intelligence. Very few men are criminals by accident. Good stocks cannot arise from inferior, nor are law-abiding citizens to be found in great numbers coming from criminal families. Since a child "inherits" his environment, as well as his intelligence and temperament, the question as to which is the more potent influence, heredity or environment, is of no great moment when we are seeking the origin of criminals. The fact is incontrovertible that criminals, in the main, come from criminal families. The cards are stacked against the child born into a criminal family from the beginning, both by heredity and environment.

We cannot altogether suppress crime—we must prevent it. Even the famed Baumes laws of New York have admittedly secured much of the good results that they have secured because habitual criminals have fled to New Jersey and other neighboring States. New York criminals have not reformed; some of them have merely transferred their operations elsewhere. The criminal is what he is mainly because of heredity, and he could not be materially different after maturity if he would. There is but one ultimate solution to the crime problem and that is for the State to put into effect some one or more of the several tried and workable plans for progressively reducing the birth rate among people of criminal stocks.



Model of the new State penitentiary at Stateville, Ill.

Wide World

A Proposal For An American Doctrine of World Peace

By H. WICKHAM STEED

EDITOR OF *The Review of Reviews* (LONDON), FORMERLY EDITOR OF *The Times* (LONDON).

SINCE the failure of the Three Power Naval Conference at Geneva, Europe has been perturbed by a sense that the peace of the world is endangered. The Locarno agreements of October, 1925, which acquired full validity when Germany entered the League of Nations in September, 1926, have lost something of their power to reassure apprehensive peoples and to give them that feeling of security without which progress toward effective disarmament is impossible.

One reason for this diminished feeling of security is to be found in the seeming sterility of the special session of the League's Preparatory Commission on Disarmament last Spring, but a stronger reason lies in the breakdown of the Three Power Naval Conference. If the United States and Great Britain could not agree upon aggregates of cruiser tonnage, gun calibres and displacement, what prospect would there be that other nations, divided by old traditions of hostility and mutual suspicion, would be able to agree upon the far more complicated issues of land disarmament?

A third reason proceeds from instinctive recognition of the strength of the German contention, which Dr. Stresemann adumbrated last year at Geneva and expressed more clearly this year—that Germany cannot remain permanently disarmed in the midst of armed neighbors; with the tacit corollary that unless means are found to fulfill the promise on which Germany was disarmed, the German people may not feel bound to refrain from increasing their armed strength, openly and secretly.

Apprehension lest a fresh period of rivalry in armaments begin, and the knowledge that competition in armaments invariably leads to war, have aggravated the sense of insecurity now prevailing among the peoples of Europe.

Germany, it is true, gave the League of Nations a strong lead at Geneva this year. Her Foreign Secretary, Dr. Stresemann, denounced war and the idea of war as stupid, criminal and futile. He advocated closer economic and political cooperation.

He showed the sincerity of Germany's attachment to peace by signing the optional clause of the Statute of the Permanent World Court at The Hague, which obliges all its signatories to submit legal disputes to arbitration. By this action he placed France and, particularly, Great Britain, in a difficult position.

It seems probable, if not certain, that France will soon follow Germany's example and will sign the optional clause. Great Britain may find it harder to do so. Her frontiers are the sea. Most of the international disputes in which she is likely to be involved concern maritime questions, and she is reluctant to incur a binding engagement to submit all such questions to arbitration unless she knows in advance exactly what principles of maritime law would apply. She feels dimly that some of the principles and precedents of British maritime law may be obsolete, but she is unwilling for the present to forego such security as they may offer.

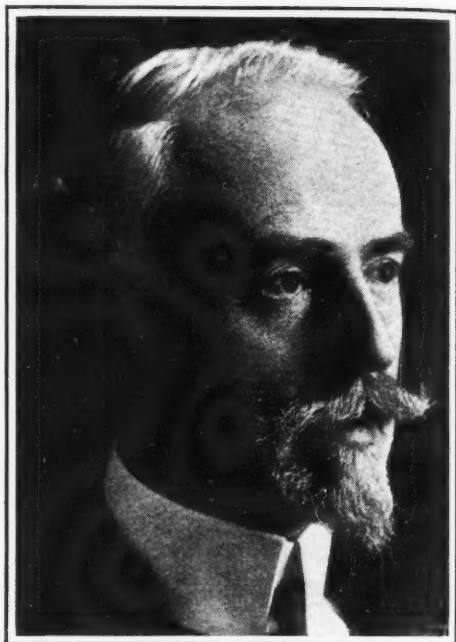
A way out of this difficulty might eventually be found in the codification of international and maritime law. But, at best, this would be a long process; and international crises may not wait the convenience of lawyers. Meanwhile, in order to strengthen the World Court and to fortify the principle of settling international disputes by pacific methods, some other procedure is necessary. It becomes the more necessary when it is remembered that British reluctance to endorse a general guarantee of European security and peace such as was proposed by the famous Geneva Protocol of 1924, springs from the belief that any attempt to uphold a general guarantee, or even to fulfill the obligations which Great Britain incurred when she signed the Covenant of the League of Nations, would be likely to involve naval action by the British Empire. Although this action would be undertaken to deter an aggressor or to penalize a Covenant-breaking State which should have resorted to war without submitting its case to conciliation and arbitration, British statesmen fear that it would bring their country into conflict with the United

States over some question of maritime law.

Now the British people are determined not to be involved in a conflict with the United States even for the sake of fulfilling British obligations under the Covenant of the League. Whatever British naval experts may think or say, Great Britain will not enter into naval rivalry or competition with the United States. But, like other European peoples, the British feel uncertain how the United States would regard any attempt to prevent aggressive war and to preserve the peace of the world should that attempt necessitate interference with neutral trade. To take a concrete example: In 1925, Greece attacked Bulgaria. Both countries were called upon by the League Council to withdraw their forces into their own territory and to await inquiry by the League. Both obeyed. Inquiry proved Greece to have been the aggressor, and Greece was penalized. If Greece had not obeyed she would undoubtedly have been subjected to coercion, probably by a naval blockade. What view would the United States have taken had American trade with Greece been affected? Would American public opinion have insisted that in no circumstances must American commercial intercourse with Greece be subjected to any restriction? Or would American feeling have approved so strongly of the attempt to prevent a conflict (which might have set the whole of the Balkans ablaze and have led to complications even more serious) that the American Government would have decided not to aid or abet the aggressor by insistence upon American neutral rights even should such a decision entail some loss of prospective commercial profit?

EUROPEAN VIEW OF AMERICA

Some Europeans, and I am of their number, who hold that American detestation of aggressive war and American enthusiasm for peace have not essentially abated during the past ten years, believe that, whenever there is a clear case of preventing war, the American people will emphatically approve of efforts to forestall it or to put coercive pressure upon those who wantonly engage in it. But we who think thus are in a minority. Europe, as a whole, judges America harshly. Europe does not realize how strong was the wave of sincere idealism that brought the United States into the Great War, nor does Europe yet understand sufficiently how cogent were the reasons that led the American Government not to ratify the peace treaties and not to incur



HENRY WICKHAM STEED

commitments that might well have become entangling. Efforts are being made to promote a clearer comprehension in Europe of the true motives of American action and of the true aims of American policy. Those Europeans who insist that America ought to join the League of Nations are being reminded that a great people cannot be expected to reverse a decision which it took deliberately and for reasons that seemed to it fully adequate. The right of America to "self-determination" is being upheld.

Yet the dilemma remains. It is a fundamental truth that without the moral support of the United States there can be no certainty of world peace. Should there ever be a "next war"—which God forbid, for it would probably mean the Bolshevization of Europe—it is inconceivable that one side or the other could triumph without the moral backing of America. I believe that the people of the United States will never give their countenance to any cause that they do not consider just and right; and the question arises whether there is not some means by which the United States could make it clear to the whole world, without incurring any obligations toward any specific nation, or group of nations, or the League of Nations, that it will withhold its encouragement from any people or

combination of peoples that engages in unjust or aggressive war.

Englishmen used to say, "My country, right or wrong." They say it no longer, or, at least, a strong and influential body of them understand that for Great Britain to pursue any policy likely to lead to war or to attempt to use war or the weapon of blockade for the promotion of any specific material interest, would be to forfeit her title to the respect of mankind and to court the destruction of the British Commonwealth of nations. They have come to feel that the interdependence of peoples is now so marked that a criminally selfish nation would stand in the same relationship to the other peoples of the world as a bandit stands to civilized society. They identify the supreme interests of their country with those of international righteousness.

In this identification modern Englishmen believe that they are not far from the standpoint of the people of the United States. Some of them even wonder whether it would not be possible for the United States to come to the rescue of an anxious world by laying down so clear a doctrine of American policy that all whom it might concern would be forewarned and would know that they would ignore it at their peril. They ask themselves, and would fain ask the American people had they access to its ear, whether at some future time, after due deliberation and uninfluenced by any save purely American considerations, the accredited spokesman of the American people could not declare that the United States abhors aggressive war, and that it will never weaken the hands of other nations which may band themselves together for the purpose of deterring an aggressor or of compelling him to desist from aggression.

When and in what form such an announcement could be made, we Europeans who hold peace to be the safeguard of civilization do not know; nor do we ask, since it is a matter solely American, with which no European has any right to meddle. But we do know that the effects of such a declaration, of such a doctrine, would be incalculable. If there be in Great Britain any public men or groups of men who are not peaceful at heart, those men and groups would realize that the United States would oppose Great Britain in any unjust or aggressive enterprise. If there be in Germany organizations or parties working for a revival of militarism, for the overthrow of the republic and for a restoration of the old imperial system, they would know their task to be hopeless. If there be in France or in Italy any tendency to look upon the sword as the ultimate arbiter and as the fittest agency for the furthering of national ambitions, they would be discouraged and abashed. The peoples of Europe who yearn for peace and for security in peace would be mightily reassured and encouraged. Pretexts for refusing to diminish armaments would then vanish. The world would gradually see that the way of peace is more excellent than the way of armed strife, and talk of "the next war" would be stilled.

Whether this be possible I know not. It may be an idle dream. Only the people of America can decide. Whatever their answer, those of us in Europe who are convinced that peace is not merely non-war, but a state of progressive, positive international cooperation for the highest human ends, will pursue our endeavor to save civilization from utter shipwreck. But, at least, we can put the question to the American people and leave the answer to them; and this is the purpose of what I have written.



America's Army Compared to Forces Of Other Powers

By ELBRIDGE COLBY
CAPTAIN, UNITED STATES ARMY

CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL once made a famous remark to the effect that Russia and Geneva have equal rights. But the truth of the matter is that nations enforce and retain their rights in proportion to their strength, their military force and essential resources. Famous international jurists have accepted and follow the idea phrased by Phillimore as follows: "The right of self-preservation is the first law of nations as it is of the individual. A society which is not in a condition to repel aggression from without is wanting in its principal duty to the members of which it is composed and to the chief end of its institutions."

Great Powers, with a vivid sense of nationality and powerful popular support, are disposed to seize what they believe to be within their grasp. Resistance by force means war. Because nations are naturally selfish, wars continue. In such a world, when ambitions clash, the friendship of nations is an empty phrase. International law is an unreliable support in time of trouble. When political differences and economic rivalries arise, the assizes are held on the battlefield. The arbitrament is that of war, judging all by the equity of the sword and the truth of the rifle. Consequently, the nations of the world maintain armed forces, lest they be at the mercy of other nations who might make armed attack.

At this time of year, when Congress is about to convene and the President is preparing his budget message, and the secretaries of his departments are issuing their reports on the past and the recommendations for future expenditures, it is desirable to check over the potential military manpower of the various countries, to set forth some figures as to the relative costs of armament, their relative strengths, and the degree to which this nation and that may be prepared for the conflict. It is possible, in so doing, to compare the trend of the last four years. In December, 1923, the Secretary of War made public detailed figures on this subject, some of which were printed in CURRENT HISTORY for that month. The

alterations are in some cases but slight; in other cases, the variations are illuminating.

In man-power, the United States leads the world. But in standing forces and in organized citizen forces, this nation ranks with Germany and Turkey (as the diagram accompanying this article demonstrates). China, with her huge population, has no reserve system at all, and her soldiers at present embroiled in civil conflict represent almost the total of her efficient fighting forces. Italy, France, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia are the belted and armed units. There is the tension where compact populations are kept largely organized for combat. Russia has a cool million ready to march on campaign, more than half of them regulars. Besides such forces as these, the puny 132,000 of the United States sink to the level of Germany's 100,000 wearing the uniform of a nation rendered impotent by treaty.

If you care to assume a standing army analogous to police protection, or to fire insurance, or to emergency sprinkling apparatus installed to suppress conflagrations until larger stores of water can be thrown on the flame, you have a vivid and visual means of bringing the truth home. Suppose the national wealth of each of the five leading nations to be represented by a single building constructed upon a plot of ground of the same dimensions. Figuring the dollars of national wealth to each active soldier, we then represent by tall solid columns the buildings each uniformed watchman would have to guard. Japan has a uniformed soldier for each \$90,000 worth of property, Italy one for every \$120,000, France one for every \$133,000, Great Britain one for every \$245,000, and in the United States one lone soldier is considered sufficient for each \$2,560,000. (For this and other comparisons, see the statistics at the end of this article.) Comparing these figures with those which obtained in 1923, we find that in Great Britain and Japan the tendency has been toward the higher ratio, while Italy and France have increased the proportion of protection for their wealth. This is all the more interesting in view of the

fact that 1923 was the year of alarms and delicate diplomatic incidents. It was the year of the occupation of the Ruhr, by France, and the occupation of Corfu, by Italy. Indeed, so clear-cut has become the tension in the Mediterranean that Spain and France and Italy have increased their proportions in this respect.

SMALLER STANDING ARMIES

Nevertheless, this is not the great armament race it at first appears to be. All the populations are not rushing to seize their weapons. Standing armies are not on the increase. A comparison of figures given at the end of the article will show that the seven leading nations have decreased their active army strength since 1923. Particularly notable is this decrease in the cases of France and Russia. From standing armies of 750,000 and 928,000, respectively, these nations have cut to standing armies of 494,000 and 474,000, in the mother countries, not including dependencies. The ratio of soldiers to population in France and Russia has likewise declined by nearly one-half. No longer do these seem such tremendously militarized countries. Of course, these are standing army figures, and do not take into full consideration the existence of organized or unorganized reserves. The full data appears in the following table:

Country.	Population.	Active Army.		Army, Reserves.	
		Number.	Ratio Per 1,000.	Number.	Ratio Per 1,000.
United States	113,494,000	128,302	1.13	406,097	4.58
British Empire	44,738,000	248,639	5.56	556,819	12.45
France	39,564,000	494,847	12.51	5,756,344	145.49
Italy	39,500,000	233,656	5.92	3,816,156	96.61
Japan	59,138,000	180,000	3.04	1,760,000	29.76
Russia	132,000,413	474,000	3.59	1,035,000	7.84
Germany	60,000,000	100,000	1.67	100,000	1.67

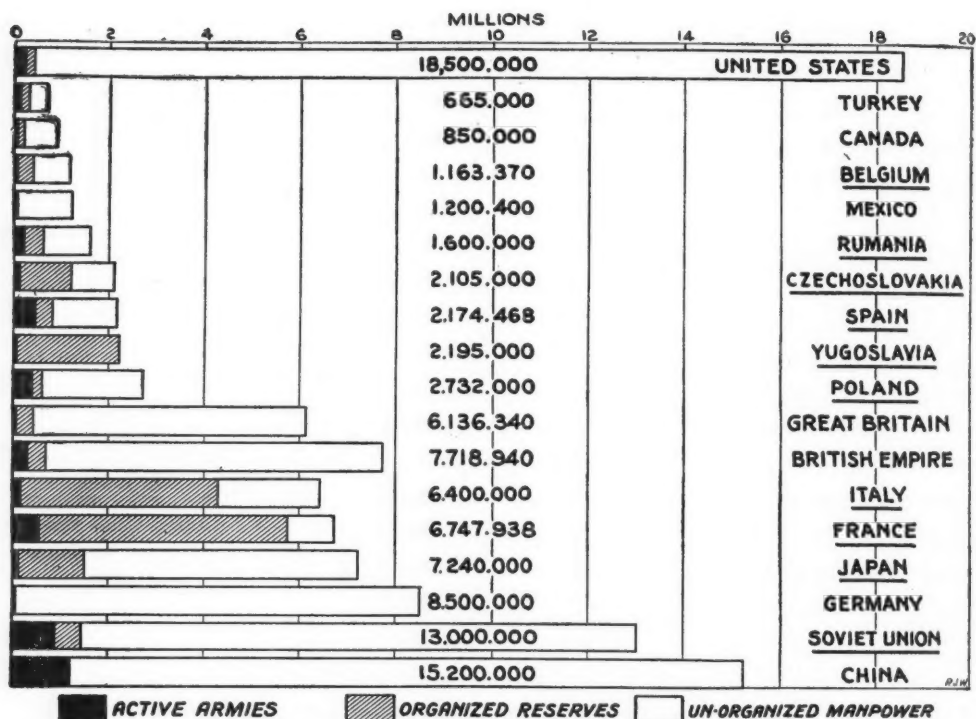
National policy with respect to armed forces is a matter of protection. In these days of conflicts in which entire nations go to war, with compulsory service, "draft," or "conscription," or "selective service," or whatever you may please to call it, the meager standing army cannot do the job alone. It must be re-enforced with civilian aid. The amount and extent of the standing force depends, in national policy, upon a simple tactical principle. When a military force camps in the field, it sets out certain "outposts" to guard it against surprise. The size of these outguards must be kept as low as possible. They must be just large enough to hold back an approaching foe and give the reserve troops time to prepare for action on the defensive line selected. If too many men are put on "out-

post" duty, there is too great a drain upon the strength and efficiency of the command, whose mission of protection is subsidiary to other aims. So it is with nations. The standing army is the outpost of a nation. It should be large enough to conduct the first line defense in an emergency until the reserve man-power of the nation can be prepared for action. The civilian man-power must not be kept standing with rifle in hand all the time, nor too great a proportion of it, else the productive work of the nation is handicapped. If a country be isolated like the United States, with long distances and difficult overseas transport problems putting a check upon the size of the force that might suddenly be brought against it, that country can afford to get along with a relatively small standing army. But if a country be closely adjacent to potential enemies with nearby and exposed frontiers, like France, that nation may quite properly have a relatively larger standing army.

There are, of course, other factors which must be considered. Italy has only one land frontier, while France has three, facing Spain, Italy and Germany. Britain has, primarily, a water frontier, and puts much of her interest in battleships and cruisers, but these in turn have long sea lanes to protect, reaching to the seven seas. If a nation is surrounded by other countries, or

facing friction with two or three others, like Italy, like France, that nation must recognize the necessity of a large standing army, and of highly organized and readily available reserve. Such a nation is almost forced to cripple her own economic productiveness in order to insure any adequate protection at all. The cost of national defense is the price of freedom and must be paid. On the other hand, the United States, because of her isolation, enjoys a tremendous advantage. With a great population, great wealth, and great resources, her isolation enables her to sit safely by, and put her man-power into industry rather than into protection. Her burdens with respect to national defense are, therefore, relatively light.

President Coolidge has constantly reiter-



MILITARY MAN-POWER OF LEADING NATIONS, 1927

Countries the names of which are underlined have compulsory service. "British Empire" includes Great Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand

ated his desire that Governmental expenses be kept low, so as to permit of the reduction of taxes and the relief of American business from paying the nation too large a share of the individual income. The next problem to be studied, therefore, is whether or not our defense costs are disproportionate. Figures at the end of this article show the proportionate sums of Federal funds allotted for national defense, including both the army and the navy for certain years, selected at four year intervals. The fiscal year 1919 was high, because the World War expenditures came within that period. The year 1923 was low, because the "economy" policy was then in full force. The army was then living off the "fat" of the World War—old uniforms, old ammunition, wartime "temporary" buildings, and so forth. The 1923 figure was, even at that, abnormally low. When submitting his budget estimate to the President in 1923, Secretary of War Weeks stated: "This estimate does not express the military requirements in order to carry out the spirit of the national defense act * * * The resulting figures have been submitted solely on the basis of allowing the material plant of the army to

run down, in the interests of immediate economy, with a full knowledge that this means a greater expense in future years to recover from accelerated deterioration."

Yet, even taking this into consideration, this analysis does not show exactly the proportion of the money spent by the people of the United States for the safety of their property and the security of their governmental enterprises. Ours is a federal form of government—one of the few federal governments in the world, with separate sovereign States carrying on separate administrative, executive, legislative, and judicial functions, furnishing their own police forces for local routine and their own educational systems. For instance: Fire Departments are maintained by the cities. Federal courts have no concern with common law cases. State and municipality, in fact, perform most of the functions of Government—all of the functions not expressly delegated by the Constitution to the Federal Government. For the maintenance of these local functions, a large part of the public taxes are used. A study of the average cost of government (see figures at end of article) Federal, State and municipal, for

citizens in four of our largest cities, shows that of each dollar which those citizens pay for governmental purposes, approximately 5 cents is for national defense and 2½ cents goes to the army. With a per capita cost for national defense of \$5.90, the amount is not excessive. Our national wealth is far, far greater than that of France, and yet the thrifty Gaul pays a per capita cost for national defense of \$6.43, in spite of the fact that his army is not so well fed, so well clothed, or so well paid as ours.

One has only to consider what a small force we maintain in proportion to our national wealth; one has only to look at the diagram accompanying this article, and see what a small proportion of our tremendous potential man-power is under arms, or even included in our partially and periodically trained National Guard and Organized Reserves; one has only to consider our actual armed strength alongside of the strength of the other nations of the world with which we stand on an equal diplomatic footing, to understand that we are far indeed from being over-armed or "militarized," as many professional propagandist pacifists maintain. Our army is a popular army maintained by a great and wealthy and productive people as an "outpost" against emergency. The will of the people was expressed by Mr. Coolidge when, in his message to Congress, he said: "We want no more competitive armaments. We want no more war. But we want no weakness that invites imposition. A people who neglects their national defenses are putting in jeopardy their national honor."

[The accompanying diagram, already referred to, illustrates the military man-power of the leading nations in 1927.

In addition to the data shown in the

diagram the following are important facts and figures that enter into consideration of the subject:

1.—*Dollars of National Wealth Per Active Army Soldier, 1927*: United States, \$2,428,080; Great Britain, \$439,819; Japan, \$153,333; France, \$121,327; Italy, \$118,711.

2.—*Dollars of National Wealth Per Active Army Soldier, 1923*: United States, \$2,560,000; Great Britain, \$245,000; France, \$133,000; Italy, \$120,000; Japan, \$90,000.

3.—*Military Strength of the Seven Leading Nations, 1923*. (a) *Active Army Strength (in thousands)*: United States, 136; Great Britain, 256; France, 750; Germany, 100; Russia, 928; Italy, 250; Japan, 277; (b) *Soldiers per 1,000 Population*: United States, 1.24; Great Britain, 5.43; France, 19.13; Germany, 1.64; Russia, 7.05; Italy, 6.44; Japan, 4.80.

4.—*Military Strength of the Seven Leading Nations, 1927*. (a) *Active Army Strength (in thousands)*: United States, 128; Great Britain, 248; France, 494; Germany, 100; Russia, 474; Italy, 233; Japan, 180. (b) *Soldiers per 1,000 Population*: United States, 1.13; Great Britain, 5.56; France, 12.51; Germany, 1.67; Russia, 3.59; Italy, 5.92; Japan, 3.04.

5.—*Expenditures for National Defense in Percentage of Total Expenditures*: 1915, 24.8; 1919, 58.2; 1923, 14.17; 1927, 16.32.

6.—*Tax Dollar Paid by Average Citizen of New York, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, and San Francisco*: City, 52 cents; Federal, 33 cents; State, 15 cents; National Defense, 5 cents.

7.—*Active Armies*: Russia, 644,000; France, 507,715; Italy (includes proportion of air corps based on number of land and sea squadrons) 252,714; Great Britain (also includes air corps) 250,103; Japan, 210,000; United States, 132,122; Germany, 100,000.]



Who Is the Father of the American Navy?

By WALTER B. NORRIS

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH, UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY

WAS the "Father of the American Navy" Scotch, Irish, Yankee—John Paul Jones, Barry, Manley, Broughton, or Benedict Arnold? And what was the first American warship and the first sea fight in the history of the nation? These questions come up for animated discussion every time the convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernians meets, every time a statue to a Revolutionary naval hero is unveiled or a naval anniversary of the Revolution observed. And the controversies have been alive for more than a hundred years.

At almost every one of their annual conventions, the Hibernians resolve that John Barry was the "Father of the American Navy," and urge that all history teachers instruct their pupils accordingly. Some years ago, when it was proposed to erect a statue to Paul Jones in Washington, Congress decided to play safe and at the same time appropriate exactly the same sum for a statue to John Barry. The wish of Barry's supporters to have his pedestal bear the inscription "Father of the American Navy" was not, however, granted, and the friends of Paul Jones managed to have inscribed on his the phrase "First to compel foreign man-of-war to strike colors to the Stars and Stripes." The Barry partisans retaliated, however, by erecting a statue in front of Independence Hall in Philadelphia, and graving on the pedestal the words: "Father of the American Navy."

Yet as long ago as 1809 John Adams scorned the claims of both men when he wrote:

Jones and Barry were leprous with it [vanity] when the first said: "My hand hoisted the first American flag," and the last was no less distempered with it when he said: "The British naval flag first struck to me." Both were true only in the mouth of John Manley, whose prizes were of more importance to this country than all that Jones and Barry both performed.

And in 1813 Adams added this bit of straight Yankee partisanship: "It is not decent nor just that those emigrants, foreigners of the South, should falsely arrogate

to themselves merit that belongs to New England sailors, officers and men."

The best case for being "Father of the American Navy" can probably be made out for Paul Jones, but curiously enough, he has achieved his recognition through statements which prove to be false. When A. C. Buell published his *Paul Jones, Founder of the American Navy*—a book still in circulation in all the libraries—he stated that on June 14, 1775, the Continental Congress appointed a Marine Committee to establish a naval force, and that on June 24 this committee asked Jones to advise it how best to perform its duties. On Sept. 14 and Oct. 3, says Buell, Jones sent the committee, through Joseph Hewes, one of its members, elaborate plans for organizing, constructing and governing a naval force. This, he claimed, made Jones the "father."

Unfortunately, the records of the Continental Congress do not mention the appointment of a Marine Committee on June 14, 1775, but on Oct. 5, and of this committee Joseph Hewes was not even a member. Buell was never able to produce the proof of his statements, and there is no record of any connection of Jones with the navy till Dec. 7, when he was appointed a lieutenant. Yet the beautiful Jones monument in Potomac Park, Washington, has inscribed on it a considerable quotation from this fictitious letter of the man whom the writers of his day called "the celebrated American corsair."

In his own day Jones was never thought of as the creator or the head of the navy. But he was probably the best known of American commanders, chiefly because of his romantic exploits in European waters, where he captured British warships within sight of their home shores, and where he became a sort of popular idol and representative of the liberal ideas then seething in the minds of educated Frenchmen. In this way he did, as his mausoleum at Annapolis states, give our navy its earliest traditions of heroism and of victory. But it was not for many years that such influence became marked. Only after Jones had

appeared in Cooper's *The Pilot* and in Churchill's *Richard Carvel*, and not till his body had been found in Paris after two years of search by Ambassador Porter and escorted across the Atlantic by a squadron of naval vessels to its magnificent resting place in the chapel of the Naval Academy, did Jones's fame become a vital part of American tradition.

A better ground on which to base the claims of Jones is the advice he did really give the Marine Committee and the sound strategic sense he showed in his suggestions for naval operations during the Revolution. Here he wrote as a man of wide understanding, and was not the mere reporter of facts such as Barry showed himself in his letters.

The evidence brought forward by the friends of John Barry is of quite a different character. Soon after Oct. 13, 1775, when the Marine Committee appointed by the Continental Congress was ordered to purchase two vessels to cruise to the eastward to intercept British supply vessels headed for Canada or Boston, John Barry was given command of one of these, the *Lexington*. On Dec. 7, 1775, he received a commission as captain, the first commission issued under the authority of the Continental Congress. Under this Barry served throughout the Revolution, and was never subordinate to any other officer. When in 1794 Washington re-created the navy, he issued the first commission to John Barry as a captain, making him again by priority the senior naval officer in the service. The statement that to Barry the first British flag was struck is based upon the *Lexington's* capture of the *Edward*, tender to the *Liverpool*, off the Virginia Capes on April 7, 1776, the first capture made by the ships purchased by Congress and earlier than any victory by the fleet under Esek Hopkins which Congress had authorized in December, 1775.

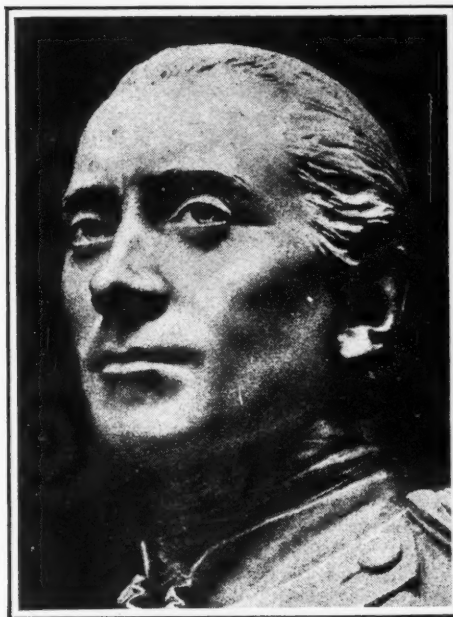
If Washington became "Father of his Country" simply because he was its first President, then Barry deserves the title for the navy, for he was its first commander appointed directly by the Congress. But if Washington was "Father of his Country" because he was chiefly responsible for its foundation, then Jones deserves the honor in the navy, for, although there was no real head of the navy during the Revolution, Jones suggested many of the lines on which it later developed and gave it traditions which have shaped its spirit ever since. Jones's "I have not yet begun to

fight" has no counterpart in any words from the lips of John Barry.

THE CASE FOR MANLEY AND BROUGHTON

Any claim for Manley rests upon the word of John Adams. In 1813 he wrote to John Langdon that according to his recollection it was Manley who was the first to suggest to General Washington in Cambridge in the Summer of 1775 the sending out of improvised warships to attack British supply ships in Massachusetts Bay. Adams said that Manley's letter was sent to Congress by Washington and led to the organization of the navy, with the appointment of Barry and Jones, as well as the cruises of Manley and others off Boston and the capture of important supplies for the army. The chief was the capture of the ordnance ship *Nancy* by Manley himself. One mortar seized on it and christened "The Congress" was credited with a decisive part in driving the British from Boston.

No record, however, of Manley's letter can be found. Washington never mentions it; it is not referred to in the Journals of the Continental Congress; it cannot be found in the Library of Congress, where the originals of all Washington letters and the correspondence of the Continental Congress are preserved. It must therefore be concluded that Manley's claims to being "Father of the American Navy" rest not



JOHN PAUL JONES
(From the bust by Antoine Houdon)



The Paul Jones Mausoleum at Annapolis

on his suggesting a naval force, but upon the fact that his naval exploits were the first important naval activities in the Revolution.

In point of time Manley was not, however, the first commander to cruise by Washington's orders against British supply ships in the latter half of 1775. This honor must go to another Marblehead sailor—for Marblehead claims John Manley as one of its citizens, even though his name there seems to have been John Russell—namely, Nicholson Broughton. The latter was ordered by Washington on Sept. 2, 1775, "to take command of a detachment of said army [the forces at Cambridge] and proceed on board the schooner *Hannah* at Beverly." From there Broughton sailed on the 5th, and on the 7th captured the sloop *Unity*, Captain Flagg commanding, with supplies for the British in Boston. Before Manley sailed on Oct. 28 in the *Lee* to make his capture of the *Nancy*, Broughton had again sailed in the *Lynch* accompanied by Captain John Selman in the *Franklin*, to cruise in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

According to these facts the first American warship was the schooner *Hannah*, and recognition of this work of Marblehead ships and sailors was given in 1926 by a celebration in Marblehead. This received the approval of Secretary of the Navy Wilbur when he accepted a bronze tablet on which the facts were stated and the claim

made for the *Hannah* that it was "the first American warship regularly commissioned by authority derived from the United Colonies of North America." Curiously enough, the tablet does not contain the date of Broughton's orders from Washington or the date of his sailing; neither does it mention the fact that he sailed not from Marblehead, but from Beverly, and it concludes with this strange specimen of Marblehead English: "Commemorating the birth of the American Navy at Marblehead, Massachusetts, June 17, 1926."

But was this naval force sent out by Washington the real American navy? It was not authorized by Congress, because it was sent out before any orders arrived from the Continental Congress. Washington's commission gave him no authority to create a navy, and Broughton and his men were all soldiers in the army, sailors though they were by occupation. Furthermore, Congress had good reason to hesitate before organizing a navy. So far the colonists claimed to be defending themselves; to create and send out a naval force would be a declaration of offensive warfare. Royal Governors still remained in some colonies, most people hoped for reconciliation, and a virtual declaration of war such as naval operations would proclaim would exclude British ships from the carrying trade of the southern colonies and produce commercial disaster. Yet Washington's fleet

was not the creation of any colony. The ships were not privateers, but public warships whose movements were controlled entirely by Washington. They were, therefore, a part of the navy and a real beginning of it, preceding by some months the navy directly organized by the Marine Committee in Philadelphia.

CIVILIAN "FATHERS"

To a people as dependent on the sea as were the colonists and as familiar with seafaring, privateering, naval operations, and—it is whispered—with piracy, as were the people of the northern colonies before the Revolution, the thought of naval action against Great Britain would be very natural. The patriots who envisaged independence as inevitable were the first to press naval activity. In his correspondence John Adams constantly plays with the idea, and, when the vote was favorable, became a member of the Marine Committee and

drafted the regulations for the government of the organization.

Adams was ardently supported, or perhaps it would be better to say brought to this enthusiasm, by such men in his home colony as Joseph Warren, whose letters bear evidence of his anxiety for a navy and who tried to persuade Massachusetts to organize one herself. The Rhode Island delegates to Congress also urged a navy, and a resolution by their provincial assembly passed on by them to the Continental Congress was the real beginning of definite action in Philadelphia. The very earliest suggestion seems to be a letter, still preserved in the Massachusetts Archives, in which a mysterious "S. L." writes to Joseph Warren and the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, urges the advantages of sea warfare, and suggests the use of a ship then under construction at Danvers. Perhaps he had a vessel he wanted to sell the Government. And the decisive stimulus

was probably given by the British themselves when they burned the town of Falmouth, now Portland, Me., and made evident the defenseless condition of the seacoast towns.

The real beginnings of the American Navy were, indeed, in these unauthorized and haphazard conflicts with British ships and sailors along the New England Coast in the months succeeding Lexington and Concord and in the operations connected with the seizure of the fortress of Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain. The enforcement of the Navigation Acts and the efforts of the colonists to prevent the British from securing supplies from the coast towns for Gage's army in Boston brought on sea fights which showed the value of control of the sea and the weakness of British communications, and led inevitably to sending out ships under Manley, Jones and Barry to cut off British connection with the home bases. In such encounters occurred the first sea fights of the Revolution months before any regular navy was organized. Just as the Minute Men at Lexington fought largely on their own initiative, so the sailors of the coast towns sprang to the defense of their rights when they were attacked on the sea.

The first sea fight of the Revolution is generally said to have oc-



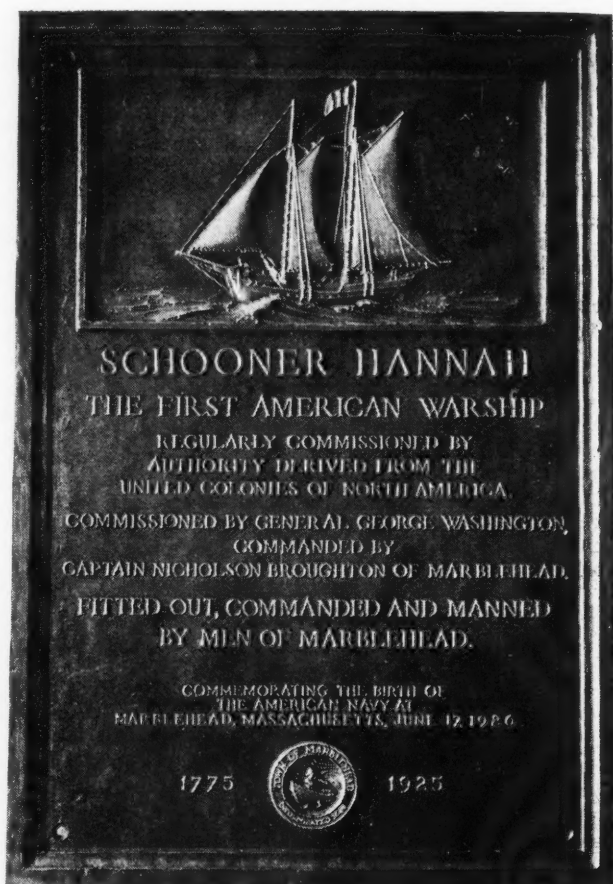
COMMODORE JOHN BARRY

curred off Machias, Me., on May 11, 1755. The date is erroneous, however, and should be June 12, 1775. What happened was that two sloops came from Boston to load lumber for the use of the British troops. They were escorted by an armed British schooner. Under the leadership of Jeremiah O'Brien and Stephen Foster the patriots of Machias seized the sloops and pursued the armed schooner out into the bay. There O'Brien and a party of men overtook it in the sloop *Unity*, boarded the vessel, and captured both Britishers and schooner. In the fight the British commander, Midshipman James Moore, was mortally wounded.

The captured schooner was put into the service of the colonists under the name of the *Machias Liberty*, and soon sailed under O'Brien for a cruise against British ships in the Bay of Fundy. Not till June 25 did the Massachusetts authorities hear of the episode and authorize O'Brien to "act for the public benefit." Not till Aug. 17 did he receive a regular commission in the navy of the colony.

Every schoolboy knows about Ethan Allen and his "Green Mountain Boys" and their capture of Ticonderoga accompanied by Benedict Arnold. But they are less familiar with the fact that about the 15th of May Arnold took command of a schooner, the *Enterprise*, which had been captured by his men at the southern end of Lake Champlain, and in this proceeded down the lake to the northern end, where he captured the town of St. John's and an armed British sloop of 70 tons. It was this quick naval action on the part of Arnold that prevented a British advance from Canada, just as his naval fighting at Valcour Island on Lake Champlain in 1776 prevented for a whole year Burgoyne's advance from Canada, and is credited by Mahan with being, through a defeat, one of the two decisive naval actions in the Revolution.

Arnold had no commission from Massachusetts, under which he was serving, except as a commander of land forces, but Abraham Whipple, of Rhode Island, may



Tablet presented to Secretary of the Navy Curtis D. Wilbur at the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the commissioning of the schooner Hannah, the first American warship

fairly claim the possession of the first naval commission conferred by the colonies. On June 15, 1775, he was given command of two vessels by the Rhode Island Committee of Safety. That very day he captured a tender of the British frigate *Rose*, a ship that had been making trouble in Narragansett Bay. This has been called "the first authorized capture made by the Americans at sea during the Revolution."

THE FIRST SEA FIGHT

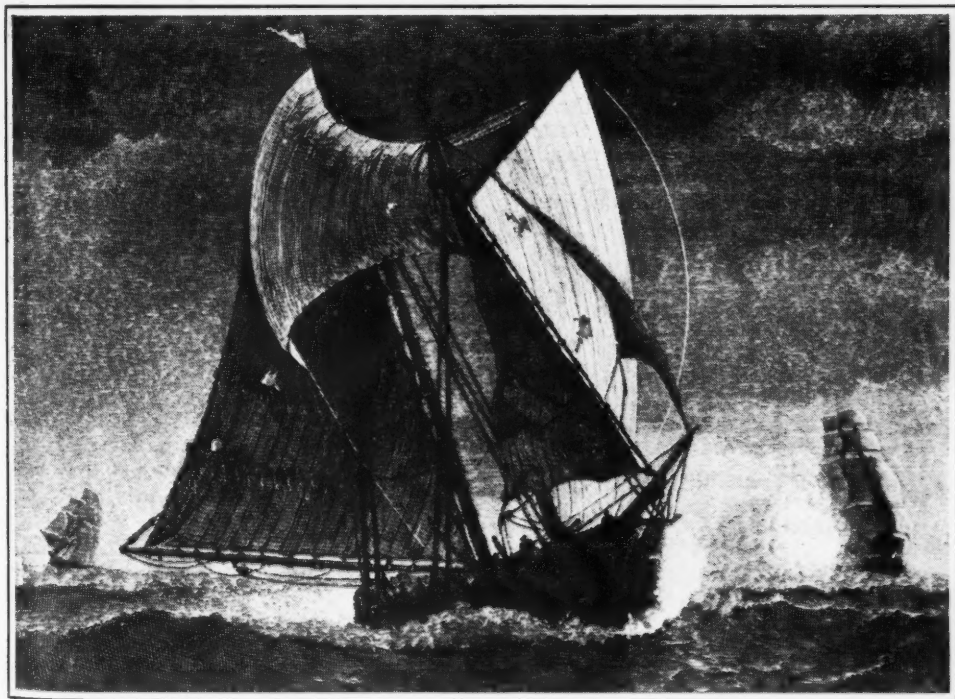
For the very first sea fight of the Revolution, however, an action even earlier than any of these has been found. Such episodes as the Boston Tea Party, the burning of the *Peggy Stewart* in Annapolis harbor, and the destruction of the *Gaspee* below Providence, had no connection with the Revolution itself. But in the waters of

Vineyard Sound, not far from what is now New Bedford, Mass., on May 7, 1775, seems to have occurred the first fighting at sea of the entire Revolutionary War. In this a band of minute men from Dartmouth, the original name of New Bedford and vicinity, went out in a schooner called the *Success* and recaptured two vessels that had been seized by Captain Linzee of the *Falcon*. The patriots captured twenty-five officers and men. One Britisher was killed and five wounded. The *Success* brought the captured vessels back to Fairhaven, opposite New Bedford, and the prisoners were sent to Taunton Jail for safe-keeping. The fight originated in Linzee's seizure of a small vessel belonging to Thomas Wing, of Sandwich, and carrying wood to Nantucket. When an Indian member of the crew told the British that a vessel belonging to Jesse Barlow of Sandwich was loading in Buzzard's Bay for a voyage to the West Indies, Linzee put fourteen men on Wing's vessel and sent it after the other. But Barlow soon got word to the minute men of Dartmouth, and they, under Captain Daniel Egery, went out in the *Success*, and in what is often called the Fairhaven Naval Engagement recaptured both vessels.

Accounts of the affair that appeared in the colonial newspapers differ as to the date, varying from the 5th to the 14th. The fullest account is by Captain Nathaniel Pope, of Fairhaven, who was joined with Egery in the command and who wrote his story in his old age. Although he gives the date as May 14, a comparison of all the data, official and otherwise, makes it quite clear that Sunday, May 7, was probably the real time of this first sea fight of the Revolution.

According to Pope, the minute men were drilling one Saturday afternoon when a horseman arrived with the news. They immediately decided to recapture the vessels and sailed out in the *Success* that very night. About thirty men were on board but all were concealed below decks except Pope and a helmsman. When they sighted one of the vessels the next morning, Pope ran his ship hard aboard and the minute men rushed up from below, boarded the Britisher, and captured her without firing a shot. The *Success* then pursued the other vessel and took her after a few shots had been exchanged. Pope gives the following details:

The commander of the British cruiser,



The schooner Hannah running the gauntlet of two British warships off Cape Ann, Sept. 5, 1775

being dressed in the livery of the King, and evidently deeming discretion the better part of valor, sought to screen his plumage from the Yankee sharpshooters by standing within the gangway, giving his commands from that quarter and seldom exposing himself to attack.

This being perceived by Captain Egery, he called Shockley, a minute man, and ordered him to present the officer with his card when next he should pop out. He did so, and the commander fell, receiving a shot in the head. The enemy soon struck their colors. The prisoners were soon disarmed, and the *Success*, with her two prizes, was at anchor before "meeting time," for, be it remembered, it was now Sunday morning.

Admiral Graves, the British commander in North America, reported the affair to the Admiralty in these words:

Captain Linzee has lost his gunner, surgeon's mate, a midshipman, eight seamen and three marines, whom he sent in a sloop to seize a smuggler in Buzzard's Bay; returning with the smuggler they were attacked by a vessel from Dartmouth, taken and carried in there, and I am informed, sent prisoners up the country, many of them wounded.

A delicious morsel of human frailty is revealed in the midst of these daring and patriotic actions by two documents still on file in the Massachusetts archives. One shows that the owners of the schooners had difficulty in regaining their vessels from the people of Dartmouth, and even had the Committee of Correspondence of the town of Sandwich ask the Provincial Congress to assist them. For it seems the Dartmouth men wanted at first eight dollars from Wing and ten dollars from Barlow,

which they paid, but later demanded fifteen dollars more. The owners also had to give bond to the commander of the expedition, Daniel Egery, that they would assume all liability he might incur from some of the captors having been wounded. Thus the first American naval engagement was rated as worth about \$33, and was another instance of a hard driven Yankee bargain.

The sword of the British officer who was captured has been preserved by the descendants of Captain Pope, and the swords of Captain Linzee, of the *Falcon*, now repose in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The dress sword is now mounted on a plaque, crossed with the sword of Colonel Prescott, commander of the colonials at Bunker Hill, for one of Linzee's descendants married the daughter of the historian Prescott, himself descended from the Yankee colonel. Thus were two opponents finally united.

So far as can be ascertained, this naval episode in Buzzards Bay was the beginning of warfare upon the sea in the Revolution, and as such deserves to be better known. One supposedly earlier engagement in April, 1775, when Nathan Smith of Tisbury captured the *Volante*, proves to have occurred in 1776. Thus the *Success* must be called the first American warship, though it did not have the legal status of even a privateer. Where the facts are clear it is therefore useless to try to make one man "Father of the American Navy," or one ship the first American warship. Where every man did his best to serve his country and the cause of freedom, there ought to be glory enough for all.



India's Degradation Laid to British Misrule

By JOHN JESUDASON CORNELIUS

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IT seems a tragedy in race relations that the creed-monger, the bagman, the diplomat and the soldier should have been, for the most part, the interpreters of the different cultures and civilizations. Add to these the international meddler and scavenger, whose "literary" output deludes the public with the half-truths and no-truths of their one-sided experience, and we have the modern world of chaos and confusion, hatred and bitterness. A case in point is the recent attempt made by Miss Katherine Mayo to increase the available sources of information about India. Deploring the utter inadequacy of the average American's knowledge of that country, she ushered into the world her book, *Mother India*, wherein she records the results of her laborious investigation into Indian conditions and contributes the information that every child in India is brought up in an atmosphere over-saturated with sex, that every Hindu awaits the opportunity to violate the chastity of a woman irrespective of kinship, and that the Hindus as a race develop to be sexually reckless.

Although Miss Mayo promises that "leaving untouched the realms of religion, of politics and of the arts," she would confine her "inquiry to such workaday ground as public health and its contributory factors," she launches a vicious attack on the Indian Nationalist movement. She is apprehensive of hasty Indianization of the Civil Service and any extension of political power to a "premature" people. Her conclusion is that "the whole pyramid of the Indian's woes, material and spiritual—poverty, sickness, ignorance, political minority, melancholy, ineffectiveness * * * rests upon a rock-bottom physical base. This base is simply his manner of getting into the world and his sex life thenceforward." Hence she declares—not as a "political agent" be it remembered!—that the British administration of India, be it good, bad or indifferent, has nothing whatever to do with the conditions above mentioned. In addition, she would have her readers believe that since "India's children fit no action to their word" and "spend their time in quarrels or else lie

idly weeping over their own futility," the reform organizations are as ineffective as they are insignificant.

With regard to such problems as child marriage and the denial of remarriage to widows, the disintegrating influences of caste system and untouchability, and the devitalizing effects of poverty and insanitary conditions—and these have never been unknown to the West—most Indians would accept their existence, setting aside, of course, Miss Mayo's over-statements. They would also admit that the British have made, as she points out, some valuable contributions to the thought and life of the people of India. But, to whatever extent one might agree with her, could one accept "sexual exhaustion" as the conclusive explanation of India's political unrest? Could one believe that there are no tangible efforts put forth to eradicate India's social evils? If Miss Mayo is not a "political agent," if she is "unsubsidized, uncommitted and unattached," what could have led her to present such a picture of India? Do such facts as are marshaled by the author justify such a serious and wholesale condemnation of Indian civilization? Although the book appears to be "carefully documented," could one depend on it that the facts she has gathered are honestly handled?

Let us begin with Miss Mayo's charges in the field of politics. The sexually exhausted people, she declares, finding "no normal avenues of excitement," seek in political agitation their gratification. In other words, the "bitterest political unrest" is due, according to her, to a sex-ridden India. Is it true, then, that there are no genuine grievances confronting the Hindus strong enough to warrant the present political agitation? Should we not remember that, though India has been under British rule for over a century and a half, it was not until 1892 that the Councils act permitted even a feeble representation in the Government of the country? That act made it possible to appoint a few Indians to the Councils, taking "proper care" to restrict the right of debate and even that of asking questions.

Although the history of the Indian Nationalist movement may be traced back to the founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885, nationalism as an active force did not make itself felt till the partition of Bengal, the very Province which is to Miss Mayo what a red rag is to an enraged bull. The proposal to divide the Province into Eastern and Western Bengal was made in 1905, in order to remove so-called "administrative inconveniences." It may be that Lord Curzon honestly thought such division necessary for efficient administration, but to the "misguided" people—since the partition was to be not on the basis of common language but of religion—it seemed an application of the familiar principle of "divide and rule." Being aware that if the partition were permitted it would be fatal to that close union between Hindus and Mohammedans upon which political progress so largely depends, they raised an indignant protest. Nevertheless, Lord Curzon forced the division through with dogged obstinacy, and Bengal was split in two, giving the Moslems a decided majority in the Eastern Province. Is it any wonder that such undisguised contempt for public opinion—not an uncommon characteristic of imperialistic statesmanship—kindled racial feeling and national solidarity and set Bengal aflame? Could such an impairment of Indian confidence in the good intentions of Great Britain have had any other result than to plunge Bengal into "sedition"? Thus almost overnight Bengal was awakened to political consciousness. Miss Mayo, however, informs us that the "sexually exhausted" people of Bengal, to whom "normal avenues of excitement" were closed, found in the partition of Bengal an opening for exciting diversion, a pleasing pastime!

The throbbing life of Bengal naturally animated the other parts of India. In order to meet the growing dissatisfaction with British administration, the Morley-Minto reforms enlarging the Councils were introduced in 1908. Though the Indians were given wider opportunity to express their views, the most vital element of responsibility was entirely lacking. Since ultimate decision in all cases still rested with the Government, the Councils were left with no function except that of criticism. Such "political education" could hardly have resulted in anything other than the passing of empty resolutions, mere "talk, recriminations and shiftings of blame," of which Miss Mayo complains. Nevertheless, the Indian National Congress was steadily forging ahead and national-

ism was driving its tenacious roots deeper.

At this juncture Europe set ablaze the World War. Despite her dissatisfaction, India not only remained loyal to the end of the conflict, but enthusiastically aided Great Britain with men and money. None of the self-governing Dominions made a greater contribution to the defense of the Empire. In men alone India provided 100,000 more than the total number of soldiers sent by all the colonies put together. Poverty-stricken though she was, India contributed nearly \$500,000,000 as a special gift to meet the expenses of Great Britain's war and unstintingly helped in many other ways. On Aug. 20, 1917, Great Britain made the solemn declaration that her policy would be the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. Mother India's hope that in recognition of the large burden she had borne in the interests of the Empire, "self-determination" might crystallize into Dominion Home Rule, led her to pin her faith on the declaration of the Secretary of State for India, and on the Wilsonian ideal of freedom for weaker peoples. Hoping for results in keeping with her legitimate claims, she set afoot a vigorous constitutional agitation. But within three months of the close of the war India stood face to face with the grim reality of the Rowlatt act, which gave to authorities certain special powers for the internment of Indian citizens.

OTHER "BENEFITS" OF BRITISH RULE

Independent thinkers with powers of leadership, courage of conviction and passionate love of their country, are a priceless portion of a country's national wealth. But the policy of imperialism is to comb the country of such leaders in order to exploit the dumb and helpless masses. Regulation III of 1818 and the Bengal Ordinances and other such regulations have been successfully applied for this purpose. For example, S. C. Bose, a brilliant graduate of Calcutta University, once member of the Indian Civil Service, a leader of the Swaraj Party and Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation, was arrested under suspicion and detained in prison for more than two years without trial. Then when his health broke down seriously, rendering him useless to his country, he was released—last May. It was reported in the Bengal Legislative Council last March that by the enforcement of these lawless laws, there were in Bengal alone sixty-eight men still in jail without trial! Most of our leaders, like Tilak, Laj-



KATHERINE MAYO

pat Rai, C. R. Das, Gandhi and a host of others during the last half century have similarly served a term or more in jail. Even the poet Tagore is considered a "political suspect" today, and was in danger of imprisonment before he received world recognition in the Nobel Prize award. How can India make progress when her promising sons are so easily gotten rid of, and patriotism is so mercilessly suppressed by an alien Government? India, keenly alive to the loss she had already suffered, was unwilling to make further legal provision in times of peace by the Rowlatt act for human sacrifices to the goddess imperialism. Was India wrong in demanding that proper justification should be offered if a defensible wartime measure were to become a permanent part of the system of government of the country? The British bureaucracy, showing no adequate grounds for it, passed the bill in opposition to the expressed will of a whole people. If India was led to set this down as a proof of the hypocrisy of the British policy rather than as an embodiment of the spirit of the solemn declaration, who could blame her? The passing of the bill in the teeth of such opposition naturally intensified India's political consciousness.

Following closely upon the passing of the Rowlatt act, and within six months of the armistice, the bloody massacre of Amritsar was perpetrated by the British General Dyer—in that very province of the Punjab

which had provided Great Britain with almost half the troops that were sent from India, though its population is only one-twelfth of the whole country. The wounding and murdering of over 1,500 defenseless men, women and children, the forsaking of the dying and the wounded without medical aid, the brutal flogging and whipping of boys of tender age, the barbarous "crawling orders," the indiscriminate arrests and confiscations and the boorish "fancy punishments" are all too ghastly to narrate. But they made India wonder if any of the alleged German atrocities during the war could exceed the brutality committed by the British at Amritsar in a time of peace. The belated and indifferent way in which the British Government dealt with this atrocity helped to aggravate Indian feeling. To add fuel to the fire, while the British Government in the Punjab was haggling over doles for those poor bereft widows and homeless orphans, in England unprecedented public subscriptions to the extent of about \$130,000 were raised for General Dyer in appreciation of his heroism. (Incidentally, it was several months before the news of this massacre managed to leak out in the American press!) Is it astonishing if the bloody massacre led the poet Tagore to renounce the much coveted honor of Knighthood and Mahatma Gandhi to strip himself of all the British medals and decorations for meritorious services and to denounce the Government as "satanic"? In the face of all this, how is one to explain the phenomenon of a woman who, laboring so hard to find a clue to India's political unrest, delivers to the world her theory of "sexual exhaustion"?

India had been agitating for Dominion Home Rule, but when the solemn declaration revealed itself as the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme, great indeed was her disappointment. She now had a dyarchical Government. Whereas departments such as those of local self-government, education and agriculture were transferred to Indian Ministries, the vital matters of military, fiscal and foreign policy and administration, in which Indians should have a voice, were retained in the hands of the British. Though the reforms marked an advance from the British point of view, India refused to be satisfied with anything less than fiscal autonomy, control of foreign policy and a national militia responsible to the Indian Government.

In spite of the odds against her, has India achieved anything so far, or has she been "idly weeping over her own futility"?

In the first stage of agitation, she won for herself a feeble and muzzled representation in the Government; further agitation led to the unmuzzling of the representatives, though they were still denied any share of responsibility in administration. The Bengal anti-partition agitation helped to develop public opinion strong enough to force the bureaucratic will ultimately to yield to the demands of the people. And the last period of agitation ushered in partial responsibility in the administration. Moreover, the application of the principle of non-violence in politics, under Gandhi's leadership, generated a moral power which dispelled fear and eliminated bombs and assassinations from organized politics. The masses have been stirred from their "placid contentment" to political thinking as never before, and a united political outlook has been created by the belief that the fate of India must henceforth be determined by Indians and not by aliens. With such achievements to her credit, India is now working for the full control of the Government, and until that goal is reached political unrest can never cease.

BLIND TO FACTS

When we turn our attention to Miss Mayo's report on social conditions in India, her diatribe of disgust and despair stares us in the face: "Today few signs appear among Indian public men of concern for the status of the masses, while they curse the one power which, however little to their liking, is doing practically all of whatever is done so far for the comfort of sad old Mother India." Since social reform has occupied as important a place in the last decade as did political agitation in the preceding decade in the history of the Indian Nationalist movement, such a statement makes one fear that Miss Mayo is either ignorant or chooses to be so.

The Brahmo Samaj, founded by Ram Mohan Roy, and the Prarthana Samaj were the first Indian organizations to concern themselves with the advancement of the depressed classes. The present political awakening has greatly stimulated such activity. While the first Depressed Classes Mission was founded in Bombay in 1906, today one finds similar organizations scattered all over India. The services rendered by the Arya Samaj, the Vedic Mission and the Ramakrishna Mission have been varied and valuable. Consider the work of just one such organization, and that in education alone: the Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes of Bengal and As-

sam carries on, according to last year's report, 406 schools in twenty districts with an enrolment of 16,274 boys and girls. Besides day and night schools, such organizations conduct dispensaries, industrial schools, free libraries, boarding homes for laborers, cooperative credit societies, and so forth. The *Indian Social Reformer*, under the able editorship of S. K. Natarajan, has been blazing the trail for social reform. Tagore, known to the West as a poet, but also a potent force for social reconstruction, goes so far as to say that it provides the only true way to India's freedom. The abundant efforts of Mahatma Gandhi to wipe out social evils of all kinds have inspired young people to a keen sense of their duty and responsibility. Social service, therefore, has now become so integral a part of Indian life that it is unusual to find an Indian college that has not its night school for the depressed classes and its band of volunteers to serve in times of distress or calamity.

The efforts to improve the condition of women are no less hopeful. Homes for Women, like the Seva Sadhan of Poona, have been founded in many cities and towns to teach helpless women and widows cottage industries, nursing and sewing and also to train capable women for teaching social service. In such homes as many as a thousand women find protection and occupation. Social reform organizations, some headed by men and some by women, are striving to abolish the purdah system, to increase the Homes for Women, to provide technical education, to dissuade parents from giving their daughters in marriage before the age of sixteen and to promote women's education by increasing the number of schools in towns and villages.

Yes, "talk there is," says Miss Mayo cynically, "resolutions passed in caste and association conventions as to changing these things. But a virgin widow's remarriage is still a headline event, even to the reform newspapers, while the remarriage of a Hindu widowed wife is still held to be inconceivable." But consider the work of a single reform organization. According to the report, which happens to be before me, of the Vidhya Vivaha Sahaik Sabha of Lahore, I find that in 1915 there were only twelve widow remarriages; ten years later, in 1925—the year Miss Mayo was in India—no fewer than 2,663 widows remarried. Since the custom of enforced widowhood has been blindly followed by the Hindus for several centuries, and since even twenty years ago the marriage of a Hindu with a



JOHN J. CORNELIUS

widow was not only extremely rare but a social breach severely condemned, the success achieved within a decade as indicated by these figures is such that one can ill afford to ignore it. This Sabha, whose object is to encourage widow remarriage, has branches and workers in about 500 stations throughout India, and recently twenty new branches were established in Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

THE PROBLEM OF WOMEN TEACHERS

As regards women teachers, Miss Mayo asserts with incredible naïveté that India's women are unable to teach India's children because "Indian women of child-bearing age cannot safely venture within reach of India's men." The Christian, Parsee, Brahmo, Gujarathi, Malayalle and other communities which do not practice purdah are found all over India, and their women, who move about freely, are not known to be molested by Indian men. Nor is purdah observed in the South or in the majority of the villages; there too Indian women are found within the reach of Indian men—and safe! (Where women are not safe is by the side of forts and barracks in which British soldiers are quartered; it is there that India's daughters dare not venture within the reach and sight of men without the danger of being raped to

death, and instances of such tragedies are not infrequent.) Even if we take the United Provinces, which is the stronghold of purdah—though Miss Mayo ignorantly, or perhaps because of her prejudice, calls Bengal that—even there one finds over 2,720 women teachers. Such facts give the lie to her wholesale accusation. If there be any truth in her diagnosis it is due to the greater severity attending sex indiscretions there than in the West. It is true that there are not enough women to teach India's children, but given such obstacles as early marriage, the purdah system, the attitude toward widows, the idolizing of motherhood rather than spinsterhood, the conservative social outlook of elder women and orthodox Hindus, the widespread distrust of the efficacy of the present system of Western education for India, and the inadequate provision of residences and other necessities for women, need Miss Mayo seek in the sex-life of Indian men the reason for the scarcity of women teachers?

In the field of higher learning we find that in 1916-17 there were sixteen colleges for women with an enrolment of 730 students, but in 1922, while the colleges had increased only by three, the enrolment increased from 730 to 1,108. The same year girls under instruction showed an increase of 17.1 per cent. over the total number of the quinquennium immediately preceeding. In spite of all hindrances, the advance made in the education of women in the last few years is encouraging; even more interesting is the striking increase in the number of women training to become teachers. In 1902 there were only forty-six teacher-training institutions for women with the enrolment of 1,292 students; in 1912, the institutions increased to eighty-seven, but only 1,538 students were enrolled. In 1922, however, while the institutions increased to 147, the enrolment went up from 1,538 to 4,458. Does not such steady and remarkable increase in the number of women in teacher-training institutions bear witness to the fact that India is slowly, yet surely, overcoming her traditional obstacles?

Among the provinces which have enfranchised women, Madras is the first to have in its Legislative Council a woman member, whom this year it elected Deputy President. There are now five women in the Madras University Senate. Indian women, though in small numbers at present, are on district boards, municipal corporations, legislative councils and in the senates of universities; above all, Mrs.

Sarojini Naidu was elected President of the Indian National Congress in 1925. No country in the West has yet conferred a similar honor on a woman. In spite of the obstacles to social reform in India, the Hindu by his efforts to uproot evils has achieved much, but Miss Mayo sees no one but the British "doing practically all of whatever is done."

AN ABNORMAL COMPLEX

When Miss Mayo says that the whole pyramid of the Indian's woes, material and spiritual, rests upon a rock-bottom physical base one would more or less accept the statement, but when she defines "physical base" as "simply his manner of getting into the world and his sex-life thenceforward," she reveals, even to those not inclined to be Freudian, an abnormal sex-complex. Further, she holds that child marriage is the cause of the physical deterioration of the Hindu race, but it does not occur to her that such a conclusion could not be accepted without quantitative evidence. There is much confusion as to the meaning of child marriage. In India marriage has come to mean either betrothal or consummation; only in the latter sense is child marriage an evil. In India, however, child marriage is generally a betrothal and the couple do not live together as man and wife. Cohabitation, therefore, does not normally take place until the girl has reached physical maturity. To believe that child marriage is the cause of physical deterioration of the people of India statistical evidence is needed in regard to premature unions and child-motherhood among the married in India's population of 320,000,000. Though her book is woefully lacking in such information, Miss Mayo makes the sweeping assertion—a marked characteristic of her book—that the Indian girl commonly looks for motherhood between the ages of 14 and 8, and that while 8 was extreme, 14 was well above the average for motherhood. Her wild assertion is easily disproved by such reports as those of Dr. Balfour, who is practicing in Bombay, and of the Madras Maternity Hospital. According to Miss Balfour's statement (*The New York Times*, Oct. 10, 1927), of 2,964 cases there were only ten cases of motherhood below 15, and 13 was the youngest age. Reports for the years 1922 to 1924 of the Madras Maternity Hospital, where 2,312 mothers were delivered of their first babies, show that while there were only 11 mothers aged 13 and 22 mothers aged 14, the average age for mother-

hood was 19.4. But, according to Miss Mayo, 14 is well above the average age for motherhood!

While Miss Mayo stresses sexual overactivity as the cause of India's physical deterioration, others less biased regard it as due largely to the progressive impoverishment of the masses, to lack of food, sanitary conditions of living, proper housing and elementary education and also to the exploitation of the masses. In other words, the rock-bottom physical base is not an overactive sex-life, as our spinster author enjoys describing, but the economic condition of a people who are dependent solely on the soil—their subsidiary cottage industries having been crushed—for a living and without sufficient capital for scientific farming or agricultural machinery.

Few countries have been hit quite so hard by the national selfishness and greed of a foreign nation as India. There are over 250,000,000 persons living on agriculture, but since agriculture itself, as practiced in India, could not yield a real livelihood, cottage industries were maintained to supplement the family income. Cotton, being of universal necessity in India, became the industry available to the masses. In 1920-21 India purchased nearly \$510,000,000 worth of foreign cotton goods, every yard of which, Gandhi maintains, might have been made in India. In view of the vital relation of the cotton industry to the economic life of the Indian masses, it might have been expected that the British rulers would have pursued a policy of protection. On the contrary, our "benefactors" imposed an excise duty on all Indian cotton goods so that the Lancashire merchants could undersell the Indian manufacturers! Thus was a significant Indian industry hopelessly crushed, reducing with it millions of agriculturists to dire poverty and starvation. This excise duty was abolished only last year, after a long and intense agitation.

While Miss Mayo, an American, tells us that the British are in India for India's good, there are not wanting some British statesmen honest enough to tell us a different story. Only two years ago Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, Home Secretary in Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet, declared: "We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said in missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by the sword and by the sword we should

hold it. * * * I am not such a hypocrite as to say we hold India for the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general, and for the Lancashire cotton goods in particular." From the early days of British control of India onward, the industrial and commercial interests of India have always been systematically and deliberately sacrificed to those of Great Britain, even if it involved crushing India's industries and retarding her economic development. Such a persistent policy has reduced India to a mere source of raw materials for Great Britain and a market for her finished products and the investment of her surplus wealth.

In the face of the present deplorable condition, do India's ablest sons "lie idly weeping over their own futility" without "flinging their strength to her rescue"? What then is the significance of such movements as the Swadeshi, Boycott, Spinning Wheel and Cooperative movements? Today the attention of India's sons is focused on the problem of how to emancipate the masses from their present economic serfdom. Agricultural development, rural reconstruction and the revival of cottage industries are amongst the first vital steps in the economic regeneration of India. The most useful and productive movement that has come into existence and has already injected new life and vigor into the rural population is the cooperative credit societies with their ideals of self-help and mutual assistance. Introduced by the Government, and utilized by national organizations, it has made within the last decade striking progress. There are over 75,000 societies throughout India with a working capital of about \$200,000,000. In India the work of the cooperative society does not end with lending money or with the removal of indebtedness. It branches out into numerous activities directed to the improvement of the general conditions of living in the rural sections. In the Punjab, for instance, where the cooperative movement is a signal success, it includes thrift societies, societies for compulsory education and for the supply of agricultural implements and household necessities, silt clearance societies, cattle breeding societies, cooperative sale shops and so forth. In Bombay a noteworthy feature is the application of the principle to the problem of industrial production. There are about 75 weaving cooperative societies, with a membership of about 3,500 weavers. The indigenous weaving industry is second in importance only to agriculture and one can see easily, there-

fore, that the cooperative principle in weaving, with its cooperative buying of raw materials and sale of finished products, bids fair to play a large part in the economic uplift of the masses.

If agriculture is receiving such attention as was not given to it fifteen years ago, if poultry raising, cattle breeding, fodder crop cultivation are now under the guidance of experts, if in spite of the Government's contrary interest cottage and mill industries are reviving, and if, while before the war the Indian cotton mill industry was unable to meet even one-third of the demand, it now meets more than half of India's requirements, is it anything less than deliberate vilification to say that India's ablest sons have not yet come to her rescue?

CAUSE OF NATIONAL DETERIORATION

Granted law and order, roads and railways, schools and hospitals. But, when the alien Government suppresses patriotism, strangles leadership, hampers social reform legislation, betrays the people's confidence, crushes indigenous industries for selfish advantage, turns the country into a source of supply for raw materials, will you ask why physical degeneracy, social disintegration, and economic backwardness are so much in evidence? Sir John Seeley, author of *The Expansion of England*, observes that "subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is the most potent cause of national deterioration."

How much can be done by a people free to control its own destiny is shown by some of the Indian States. In Baroda all boys of school-going age are under instruction, because there, unlike in British India, education is free and largely compulsory. Mysore did not find it difficult about twenty years ago to abolish the institution of temple girls and to wipe out child marriage amongst the higher castes—a striking contrast to British India! Having described these evils in all their horror—real and imaginary—Miss Mayo avers that caution guides the British lest the peoples' susceptibilities should be wounded. Such caution, we must say, seems to be conspicuous by its absence when it is a question of repressive legislation or economic exploitation, but is piously invoked when it concerns the need to uproot customs and practices retarding social and economic progress. Caution is probably indispensable if our Government is not to offend public sentiment in every matter. This subterfuge of

caution becomes necessary where a Government, being alien, lacks the confidence of the people. Yet despite the cautious British and the orthodox Hindus, Indian public opinion favoring social reform is growing rapidly. In fact, more rapidly than the Government likes to see. The Rev. W. E. S. Holland, an English missionary writes: "Today responsible Indian opinion is ahead of the Government in its demand for primary education and for the prohibition of early marriage. It is the Government which on the plea of discretion applies the brake." Therefore, one is led to suspect that an essential for the enhancement of India's social and economic progress is the acceleration of self-government in matters fiscal and political. In view of these promising signs in Indian national life and the valuable achievements in social and economic realms, how is one to explain Miss Mayo's grave apprehension of the Indianization of the Government? All sorts of anti-Indian propaganda have become inevitable since British vested interests are opposed to India's legitimate aspirations.

DISHONEST AND MISCHIEVOUS BOOK

Miss Mayo feels obliged to volunteer that her *Mother India*, however, is no part of such propaganda. Call to mind that *The Isles of Fear*—the same author's indictment of the Philippine Nationalist movement—was introduced to its British readers with a foreword by Lionel Curtis, the father of the present Dyarchical Government in India; remember that within a few months of its publication in England, she herself "called at India Office in London"; note that the India Office—which seldom interests itself in every Tom, Dick and Kate touring in India—placed at Miss Mayo's disposal the services of officials, both Indian and European, who facilitated her "access to information, to records and to places and things" and which "made possible," so she admits, "a survey more thorough than could have been accomplished in five times the time without such aid"; recollect that while she is malicious in her treatment of Indian national aspirations she rarely hesitates to claim infallibility for the British administration, and now dare you doubt that she makes too big a draft on human credulity when she asks the reader to believe that she is not a "political agent?"

Do not the above facts justify the prevalent fear among many that *Mother India* is a species of powerful anti-Indian propaganda? In fact, so anti-Indian is *Mother India* that one has more than a suspicion that, though the hand be that of Katherine Mayo, the voice is that of the British bureaucrat.

India does not resent criticism of its customs and culture, since a stranger's appraisal has much of value, but she insists the criticism be fair and unbiased. Miss Mayo packs her book full of half-truths and no-truths. She overstates, suppresses, misinterprets facts and distorts evidence to support her prejudices; she uncompromisingly condemns the moral and religious life of a whole people; she refuses to see anything good in the Indian Nationalist movement or anything bad in the British administration. A critical study of her book, and an examination of her "carefully documented" evidences, and the way she has handled them, lead me to say without reserve that her book is dishonest, misleading, provocative of ill-will and calculated to produce hatred between the peoples of India and those of Great Britain and America. In fact, those in close touch with the Indian press have already noticed how India, now turning her eyes to this country, has been led to expose America as the crime centre of the world. Evidences of such reaction are to be found in the disclosures of the filth, poverty and disease to which the poor whites and blacks in the South and in the slums of great cities are condemned; of sexual immorality as evidenced by divorce records, the numbers of babies in homes for illegitimate children, the hospital records on venereal diseases, and of the criminal tendencies as manifested in the blood-curdling murders, the horrible lynchings and the not infrequent slaying of husbands by wives, either for love of gold or of other women's husbands. Katherine Mayo is likely to produce as much hatred against the United States in India as the other American tourists produced in France last year. In this age of hatred and bitterness, of political friction and commercial greed, the strain in relations between nations and peoples is so great that a book such as this cannot but be inimical to the cause of better understanding and international friendship.

The Regeneration of the Turkish People of Today

By IBRAHIM A. KHAIRALLAH

FORMERLY CHIEF OF THE POLITICAL OFFICE, EGYPTIAN MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR

A RECENT book—an outstanding book—written by an eminent French authority, M. René Marchand, on the basis of a personal investigation on the spot, gives a picture of the New Turkey the importance of which makes it deserving of a special study and analysis, for the New Turkey is all too little known throughout the world today. This book* deals with the most stirring period in the history of Turkey. A people which, after long years of struggle for its very existence, marked by a continuous chain of disasters, comes out ennobled by the ordeal, and, at the very last moment, when all seems lost, wins a resplendent victory, and then bends every atom of energy still remaining to establish on a firm basis the foundations of its future prosperity, by stripping itself of everything that checked its upward advance—such a people is worthy of a fair destiny. This fundamental transformation was achieved through the inspiration of one man, a general and administrator of the first class, a patriot in whom the very soul of the nation is incarnate—Ghazi Mustafa Kemal. Such, briefly summarized, is the theme of M. Marchand's study.

The book comprises eleven chapters or essays dealing with the various phases of the renaissance of Turkey. The first, entitled "Angora," describes the feverish activity displayed on all sides in the work of construction. The choice of the city as the capital of the new Republic is most significant of the spirit of the new régime. Of all the cities of the defunct Empire, it alone stood as the stronghold of things purely Turkish. For about 1,000 years it has been the seat of the "Akhy" sect, which on several occasions placed itself at the head of Turkish uprisings against the sway of the Ottoman Empire that was the embodiment of Moslem-Arab, rather than Turkish ideals. Under the inspiration of the Ghazi and his able lieutenants, the city is being transformed from a medieval vil-

lage into a metropolis equipped with the most modern improvements. The incessant activity of the new capital stands out in marked contrast to the inertia of Constantinople, the somnolent city of the Bosphorus, and symbolizes the virile vigor of the New Turkey of Kemal.

The second chapter gives a most interesting sketch of the Ghazi and the services he rendered his country. Mustafa Kemal will always rank in history as one of the outstanding figures of all time, not only as the liberator of the fatherland, but also as its maker and the creator of its future greatness. Sir George Clerk, the British Ambassador to Turkey, describes him as "The Man of the Century."

The third and fourth chapters treat of the Grand National Assembly and the Republican Party of the People. In the former is outlined the new Turkish Constitution, which shows a marked tendency to centralize all power in the Chamber; in the latter is described the wonderful development of the first real political party organization that Turkey ever knew—an organization that is European in every sense of the term.

The fifth, sixth and seventh chapters are the real backbone of the whole work. In these, especially in the fifth, M. Marchand discusses in minute detail the various aspects of the progress achieved by the Republic in such an amazingly short time.

Thanks to the untiring efforts of the Ghazi, who has a wonderful gift of appraising men and picking out those best fitted to accomplish the difficult tasks of demolition and reconstruction, the progress achieved in the past few years is most remarkable. It is indeed difficult to say which of the two is the worthier achievement, the demolition of the antiquated system of the old régime or that of reconstruction undertaken by the Republic. The former is characterized by the abolition of the Sultanate and the Caliphate, the closing down of *madrassas* (reactionary centres of religious intrigue), the suppression of the privileged class of Ulemas or Hodjas (religious teachers) who in the past were represented in

* *Le Réveil d'une Race (dans la Turquie de Mustapha Kemal)*. By René Marchand. La Nouvelle Société d'Édition, Paris, 1927.

the Cabinet by the powerful Sheikh-ul-Islam, and lastly, by the abrogation of the Moslem law, which regulated domestic relations in general.

At present the separation of the spiritual and temporal affairs is absolute. The State and the law have been completely secularized. The only vestige that remains of the defunct past, and that temporarily, is an Under-Secretary of State for cults, attached to the Cabinet of the President of the Council of Ministers, and charged with the duty of progressively liquidating the unsavory legacy of Wakfs and religious foundations.

The work undertaken by the Republican régime is progressing most satisfactorily. In the following pages the progress achieved in the various fields will be outlined.

I. Public Works—Perhaps the greatest achievement of the Department of Public Works has been the endowment of the country with a very important network of railway lines. The Government of Ismet Pasha, the present Prime Minister, has been aptly surnamed the Government of Railways. Foreseeing the vital importance of the economic development of the territory which had been shamefully neglected by the Sultanate, the Government made it the cornerstone of its policy to connect the various parts of the Republic with a modern railway system. The plan it adopted to that effect represents an annual expenditure of 25,000,000 Turkish pounds for a period of ten years. To carry out its program a provision was made in the 1927 budget for an increase of 11,443,000 Turkish pounds, or an increase of 80 per cent. over the preceding year. These figures are all the more remarkable because they are obtained by economy in other fields without disturbing the equilibrium of the budget.

The Government's ambitious program contemplates the complete restoration of the old lines in the western region, which were completely destroyed during the last war, and the construction of several new lines to connect the various important centres and encourage the exploitation of the natural resources of the country. Thus the Constantinople-Angora Line (580 kilometers) was completely renovated and extended to Caesarea (380 kilometers), whence it is planned to extend it to Siwas and link it with the Eastern Trunk Line to Erzindjan and Kars, where it will join the Soviet Caucasus system. From Siwas another line is to run to Samsoun on the Black Sea, and another from Caesarea to Nigde and Oulou Kishla and the Baghdad

Trunk line. Another contemplates the linking of Angora with Zoungouldak and Heraclea—the region of the rich coal fields. On the Constantinople-Angora line a branching off at Ismid is to be effected, and a line constructed to Ada Pazar, Boli and Tchan-Kire, where it will join the Angora-Heraclea line. This line will traverse the rich forest region of Northwestern Asia Minor. The Broussa-Oushak project, which will ultimately connect with the Smyrna-Konia line, is to serve the sugar industry of Western Asia Minor. In the East a line is planned to run from Trebizond, or Riza of the Black Sea, to Diarbekir and Mersina and the Baghdad line, and is destined to play an important part in the development of the rich copper mines of Ergani in Central Anatolia. Some of these have already been conceded to foreign groups, and as to the others, negotiations are under way.

CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS

The development of railways, though taking the first place in the plans of the Government, is by no means its sole preoccupation. A law was passed last year obliging villages to contribute for the construction, according to a prearranged plan for the whole territory, of carriage roads connecting them with the capitals of their respective vilayets.

II. Posts, Telegraphs, Telephones—A powerful wireless station, capable of communicating with Washington, has been erected at Angora by a French company. Another, less powerful and destined for regional service, has been installed at Constantinople. A contract has been entered into with the Swedish firm of Erickson & Co. for the laying out of telephone lines between the various cities of Asia Minor and the capital. A period of five years is given for the completion of the work. Lastly, a thirty-year agreement has been entered into by the Department of Posts and the Eastern Telegraph Company for the telegraph service. The accord, however, does not deprive the Government of the power to treat with other concessionnaires on analogous bases. By the agreement, at the expiration of a period of instruction extending over eighteen months all the officials and employees are to be Turks.

III. Agriculture—Three-fourths of the population of Turkey belong to the farmer class; hence the efforts made by Republican Turkey in the field of agriculture is bound to have far-reaching results. In the first place, land, taken from the State domains, is granted to any one on de-

mand. Such land becomes automatically the grantee's private property, and is transmissible to his heirs. The sole condition that is imposed is that if at any time (unless the land is bought by the grantee in the meantime) it remains fallow for three consecutive years it reverts to the State as a matter of right.

One of the reforms introduced was the suppression of the pernicious *ashar* (tithes) system of farming taxes, which prevailed under the empire, and the establishment of a moderate land tax in its place. Moreover, military service has been reduced to eighteen months, and during the harvest season those serving under the colors are given permission to work in the fields. In the southeastern provinces the feudal régime of the Beys, which still persisted, was definitely abolished.

The reforms introduced by the Kemalist régime have reacted favorably and restored the farmer to normal conditions. Since 1924 the produce of the land has regained pre-war level. In 1926 4,300,000 hectares were under cultivation. The 1925 crop yielded 6,500,000 kilos of sugar beets, 72,500,000 kilos of potatoes, 76,000,000 kilos of cotton and 35,000,000 kilos of tobacco. The Government's effort has not been confined to placing the farmer in a position to work, but has gone a long way in aiding him by advancing loans, payable in three years without interest, by distributing machines, seeds, live stock, and by aiding the Agricultural Bank, which gives loans to farmers exclusively.

HOMES RESTORED

During the war of independence over 200,000 houses in the northwestern region of Asia Minor were destroyed by the Greeks and over 20,000,000 vines uprooted, not to mention the destruction of live stock and cattle, especially the famous Angora goat. Yet this sorely afflicted region is once more on its feet, thanks to the tenacity and thrift of the Turkish farmer and the untiring efforts of the Government.

In this as well as in other fields nothing is left to chance. The chief preoccupation of the present Government is to improve technique. Twelve Secondary Agricultural Schools have been opened. A more advanced one is found at San Stefano, and another is planned for Angora. Arrangements are being made to send professors and students abroad with a view to specializing, and, on their return, to form a highly qualified teaching force. Further, a remodeling of the whole system is contemplated,

so as to permit of specialization, in the various regions, in the study of the agriculture that is best suited for each particular locality. Thus the curriculum of the school at Smyrna will be so arranged as to prepare students for the cultivation of vineyards and tobacco; that of Broussa, orchards; and that of Adana, cotton.

SCIENTIFIC CULTIVATION

Special attention is being paid to fostering scientific cultivation. The soil of the various regions is being carefully examined with a view to determining what it is best fitted for and to obtaining maximum returns in crops and stock. Energetic measures have been taken to combat diseases of cattle. Bovine pest has been successfully coped with and localized in the eastern and southeastern regions, where every effort is being made to eradicate it. Bacteriological laboratories are busily engaged in research work for the discovery of serums for this and for other cattle diseases. The two main scourges of agriculture, locusts and wild boars, are kept within bounds; and the pink worm and phylloxera that ruined cotton crops at Adana are likewise being properly dealt with. Strict laws have been passed for the preservation of forests and the development of forestry in general, which the heedlessness of the past régime had thinned down, and, in certain localities, chiefly Central Anatolia, exterminated.

IV. *Immigration*—The question of the proper exploitation of the vast regions of the Anatolian plateau is dependent on the development of the population, which at present is about 16,000,000, and which in ten years' time will be 20,000,000. For, besides the normal increase, it is annually gaining on an average of 100,000 through immigration of Turkish Moslems from the Balkans in consequence of special conventions for the exchange of populations. A rational system has been organized whereby only so many immigrants are allowed as can be properly settled. During the past three years the Government spent 12,000,000 Turkish pounds, built 6,400 houses, repaired 12,000, distributed 21,640 head of cattle and 27,476 plows among immigrants.

V. *Commerce and Industry*—During the past two years the Department of Commerce and Industry has made decided progress. Commercial attachés have been removed from under the control of the embassies and allowed more freedom and initiative to effect closer liaisons with commercial and industrial centres abroad. The Chambers of Commerce are planning to es-

establish at Constantinople a special bureau after the pattern of the French League for the Expansion of French Commerce.

Commercial treaties have been concluded with Germany, Hungary, Finland and Russia, and others are being negotiated with the other Powers. The basis of all these treaties is the same. Calculating the advantages which Turkey's exports enjoy abroad, the Republic concedes reciprocal treatment, and proportionately, to goods coming from foreign countries. For articles called *hors de réciprocité* the most-favored-nation clause is applied.

General imports rose from 144,788,671 Turkish pounds in 1923 to 242,314,118 in 1925, and exports from 84,651,189 to 193,119,453. The first place, occupied by England before the war, is now taken by Italy. Maritime commerce has shown remarkable development. The Seri-Sefaine Steamship Company's tonnage rose from 26,197 in 1923 to 54,050 in 1926, and its budget from 2,000,000 Turkish pounds to 5,500,000. The total tonnage of Turkey rose from 132,242 tons in 1926 to 200,000 in 1927. The expansion of commercial activity has been signalized by the rapid growth of societies. At the end of the World War there were 138 societies only; at present there are 310 national societies and 175 foreign; 66 banks—36 Turkish and 30 foreign. The new law establishing limited liability placed all societies under the control of the State.

Substantial progress has been made in the development of industry during the past four years. The number of factories and mills at the present time is 1,920. The industries that have made decided progress are silk weaving, rugs, flour mills, fruit preserving and canning, soap manufacture and sugar refining.

The exploitation of the mineral resources of the country—coal, copper, lignite, manganese, boracite—has progressed most satisfactorily. Over 1,000,000 tons of coal were mined from a few pits in the Heraclea field. Revenues from mines, which in 1920 were represented by 100,000 Turkish pounds, now total 1,186,000.

VI. Hygiene and Social Welfare—The Department of Public Health is a creation of the Republic. It was constituted by the National Assembly in 1920, and in spite of the limited resources placed at its disposal, it has established 150 dispensaries in the various kazas (districts), and four model hospitals with 250 beds each at Angora, Siwas, Erzurum and Diarbekir. Graduates from medical schools are by law obliged to serve three months in malarial regions,

and two years—at a fair stipend—as district physicians. Considering the insufficiency of qualified physicians, the total number being 3,000, the department opened two infirmary schools and made them accessible to graduates of secondary schools. Tuition in them is free, and special courses in infectious diseases and sanitation are given. Two maternities were opened at Angora and Konia to study the problem of infantile mortality and propose means for lowering it.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST MALARIA

The hardest task of the department was its campaign against malaria. The epidemic is now under control, and in the regions of Angora and Adana eradicated altogether. In other regions it has been reduced appreciably. A systematic campaign has also been waged against trachoma in the region of Malatia. And if we except malaria, which is being successfully coped with, the sanitary condition is quite satisfactory. Since the disappearance of typhus, which raged after the war, there has not been recorded one case of an epidemic, and that in spite of the influx of a large number of indigent immigrants.

VII. Education—The law of 1924, called "the Law of the Unification of Instruction," definitely abolished the religious and backward instruction given in the *madrassas* of the old régime, and established the modern national lay school. This was supplemented by another in 1926, which proclaimed the principle of a unified primary education, suppressed religious instruction in lyceums and secondary schools, and reduced it to the strictly necessary minimum in the primary schools.

When compared with education under the old régime, which aimed at educating a particular class of civil servants only, and was influenced by religious prejudices, the reforms of the Republic are impressive. Under the new régime education is impressed with a thoroughly national character and made accessible to all; it is completely freed from all religious constraint and rests fundamentally on the principle of freedom of thought and scientific progress. Primary education is free and obligatory, requiring an attendance of five years. There are now 5,883 primary schools as against 2,632 in 1914; 11,770 instructors as against 8,165, and 385,455 students as against 250,200. In some of the secondary schools co-education has been introduced tentatively, and, if successful, will be generalized. There are fifteen schools for girls and fifty-four for

boys of this type, with a total enrolment of 6,994, as against 1,486 in 1914. There are nineteen lyceums with a total of 6,911 students, as against 5,239 in 1914. There is only one university at Constantinople, with 265 professors and 2,837 students. A new university is planned for Angora.

VIII. Justice—The legislation of the Republic is borrowed entirely from Europe—the Penal Code from Italy, the Code of Civil and Criminal Procedure from France, the Code of Commerce from Germany, and the Civil Code from Neuchâtel, Switzerland (the 1925 code). There is a Court of Cassation, 650 Courts of First Instance and justices of the peace, but no courts of appeal. Appeal from the lower courts is made directly to the Court of Cassation, which actually comprises six chambers (a project for the creation of two more is now before the Assembly). Magistrates are elected by a special commission of nine members—the directors of the various departments of the Ministry of Justice and Justices of the Court of Cassation. Promotion is likewise controlled by this commission. Before a Judge can normally become a Justice of the Court of Cassation he must serve on the bench some eighteen years and pass through six grades of three years each. Courts of First Instance consist in principle of three Judges each; but in localities where litigations are few, of one Judge only. In penal cases involving heavy penalties, the court is composed of five Judges. There is no jury trial. Warrants of arrest must be signed by the Examining Magistrate, the District Attorney and the President of the Court. No accused can be interrogated except in the presence of counsel, provided he asks for one.

It is in the domain of domestic relations that the most radical change in Turkish law has been effected. Polygamy and the laws of inheritance which sanctioned woman's inferiority were suppressed, and the liberty of each individual on attaining ma-

jority (18 for boys, 16 for girls) to adopt a religion of his or her own choice was proclaimed.

IX. Finance—A competent foreign observer, who had studied the financial situation of Turkey on the spot, was so struck by the progress achieved that he told M. Marchand that he would be willing to accept the signature of the present Government for any loan it might contract in preference to that of several other governments. In marked contrast with the financial system of the Empire that weighed heavily on the rural districts, the policy of the Republic shifted the burden on cities. The present Government is straining every nerve to liquidate the debts of the Sultanate, and sincere efforts are being made to meet foreign bondholders to the fullest extent of the Republic's resources.

X. Cultural Efforts—In the press, as well as in the fields of literature and fine arts, earnest efforts are being made to break away from the past and adopt Western culture. The rupture with Islam is complete. The seclusion of women is a thing of the past. So is the Moslem law that consecrated polygamy and woman's inferiority. The emancipated Turkish woman in no way differs from her Occidental sister.

Has the rapid modernization of Turkey been too precipitous to be lasting? Is the reawakening of the nation due solely to the inspiration of the man who shook it back to life from torpor that bordered on death? M. Marchand firmly believes that the change is permanent. Among the intelligentsia, the modernization of Turkey is the logical conclusion of a leavening of ideas for over a century. Among the masses the rupture with the past which the Republic precipitated, and the Kemalist régime confirmed, is but a resumption of normal development, temporarily checked, but never stifled, by the adoption of Islam, which dashed itself in vain against the rock of Turkish tenacity, and never succeeded in giving it a permanent Arab character.



Chinese Revolution in State of Collapse

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT IN THE FAR EAST

DEFEATED in all its objectives and clearly disintegrating from within as a result of factional feuds and the withdrawal or expulsion of many of its more active members, the Kuomintang has ceased to play the directing or even the leading rôle on the Chinese political scene.

The magnitude of its collapse may best be gauged by comparing Kuomintang objectives with Chinese realities. The Kuomintang aimed (1) to unite China under its rule; (2) to subordinate military to civilian authority; (3) to end the foreign domination of China's political and economic life; (4) to give the Chinese masses better material conditions and the right to organize for the promotion of their interests. Not one of these objectives has been achieved, and all of them seem farther away today than they were six months ago.

The result of the first aim has been nil. In all its distracted history China has seldom been so thoroughly divided as it is today. The control of the North is disputed between Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian war lord and ex-bandit, and Feng Yushiang, the so-called "Christian General"; Shantung Province is under the sway of the ferocious war lord, Chang Tsung-chang; between Shantung and the Yangtze River Sun Chuan-fang, who was ousted by the Nationalists from Shanghai last Spring, maintains a rather precarious hold; the "Red Spears," a widespread peasant organization whose members oppose militarism, but whose leaders sell their services to any war lord who will hire them, add another element of confusion. South of the Yangtze the situation is even more chaotic. All power is in the hands of a number of rival generals, the Kuomintang Government having completely disintegrated. The interior provinces of Hunan and Hupeh are dominated by Tsing Shen-chi; the eastern provinces by Generals Pei Chung-hsi, Ho Ying-chin and Li Tsung-yen; Canton is now the capital of the military satrapy of General Li Tsai-hsin; the big southern and southwestern provinces—Yunnan, Kwei-

chow and Szechuan—are a prey to the obscure feuds of local militarists.

The result of the second aim is also nil. The militarists, far from being subordinated to civilian authority, in the words of Michael Borodin, former Russian advisor to the Nationalist Government, "are now in the saddle," and the civilian authorities are themselves subordinated to the militarists. The deposing of General Chiang Kai-shek, former generalissimo of the Nationalists, was carried out by his subordinate generals. A Nanking General solved the dilemma of the British airplane episode outside Shanghai by forcing the civilian authorities who wished to fight the case to a finish to hand back the wings of the airplane seized when it made a forced landing on Chinese territory.

The result of the third aim shows that the Chinese revolution, so far as increasing Chinese sovereignty vis-à-vis the foreign Powers is concerned, is in full retreat. Last Winter there was almost no concession that the Powers were not willing to make to an aroused, formidable and apparently united Chinese nationalism. The British special residential areas in the Yangtze ports of Hankow and Kiukiang were handed over to Chinese administration; the Chinese were allowed full jurisdiction over cases affecting their own nationals in the International Settlement of Shanghai; the levy of a 50 per cent. increase on the previous low tariff rate was conceded. The other Powers were equally afraid of an explosion and consequently equally conciliatory. Had the Kuomintang maintained unity and discipline, all the foreign privileges in China would have been surrendered or modified without a struggle. But the disintegration following the revolt of General Chiang Kai-shek and the establishment of a rump Nationalist Government at Nanking soon led to a stiffened attitude of the foreign Powers, including Japan. The anti-Japanese boycott as a protest against the Japanese occupation of Shantung failed miserably, as did the "tax strike" of last Summer in the International

Settlement of Shanghai—new illustrations of the inability of the Chinese to maintain unity. Other incidents show the inability of the shaky, inchoate Chinese Governments to resist the application of external force.

The result of the fourth objective has been complete and utter failure. The social revolution which seemed to be strongly developing last Winter and Spring, has been replaced by complete reaction. The peasant and labor organizations, the creation of which was at first encouraged by the Kuomintang for the improvement of material conditions and the obtaining of needed reforms, have been "smashed" by General Chiang Kai-shek and other Kuomintang Generals. The unions have been suppressed or "reorganized" and their more active leaders shot or beheaded.

The defeat of the Kuomintang marks the end of a definite phase in modern Chinese history, and the causes of this defeat are worthy of full and detailed investigation.

VAGUE IDEAS AND WEAK LEADERS

First of all, the Kuomintang was handicapped by the vague and nebulous character of its guiding ideas. The political gospel of the Kuomintang, the famous "Three Principles" of Dr. Sun Yat-sen—Nationalism, Democracy and Social Welfare—are obviously capable of a thousand varying and contradictory interpretations. A revolutionary program must be harder, more practical, more concrete.

Even more important than the question of philosophy was the question of personality. The failure of the Kuomintang experiment was also the failure in revolutionary leadership of the Chinese Western educated class, of the Chinese intelligentsia. The civilian leaders of the Kuomintang, such men as Eugene Chen, C. C. Wu, Wang Ching-wei, Sun Fo, Hu Han-ming, make an excellent personal impression on the foreign visitor who is sympathetic with Chinese nationalism. They present their case logically and eloquently; they paint glowing pictures of China as it might be if the evils of foreign imperialism and domestic militarism were eliminated. But in the practical business of eliminating these evils they have proved deficient in many of the qualities which are indispensable for the successful revolution: Iron resolution, constancy of purpose even to the point of fanaticism, unsparing ruthlessness when circumstances demand it.

The first mistake of the Kuomintang leaders was in permitting the Chinese communists to acquire a dominant position in

the mass movement, in the organization of the labor and peasant unions. Their second mistake, the one that really wrecked the party and reduced it to its present position of impotence, was their failure to set any bounds to the reaction that started under the pretext of anti-communism. The majority of the Kuomintang leaders have always been convinced that there were vital differences between Sun Yat-senism, with its mixture of nationalism, American democracy, single tax and a measure of State socialism, and communism, as preached by Marx and practiced by Lenin. Had the civilian elements in the Kuomintang themselves taken the initiative in correcting their first mistake of giving too much latitude to the Communists, and simultaneously pushed forward a vigorous program of labor and agrarian reform, their party could have most probably retained the confidence of the people and steered a safe course between the Scylla of militarism and the Charybdis of communism.

But they were unable or unwilling to do this. They waited until the Generals, beginning with Chiang Kai-shek, took into their own hands the slogan of anti-communism and then stood helplessly by while the military men, under the pretext of "clearing out the Reds," smashed all the labor and peasant organizations, blocked even the mildest reform of the medieval Chinese land system and ended by practically destroying the Kuomintang apparatus for preserving civilian control of the Government. Tried in the storm of revolution, most of the Kuomintang civilian leaders proved very weak reeds, passively drifting first with the Communists and then, when the balance of power had shifted, endorsing every reactionary act of the militarists.

Not all the Kuomintang leaders played such an inglorious rôle. Several of the more prominent Left wing members, like Teng Yen-tat, protested and went into retirement.

MRS. SUN'S PROTEST

Mrs. Sun Yat-sen, the gracious and charming young widow of the Nationalist leader, resented the growing militarist domination of the Hankow Government and resigned from it in a statement which, in its quiet strength and dignity, was a revelation even to her friends. After emphasizing that Dr. Sun's own humble origin as a peasant boy made him especially eager to improve the condition of the great poverty-stricken masses of the Chinese peas-

antry, Mrs. Sun ended quite eloquently on the following note of disillusionment in the Kuomintang leaders and faith in the Chinese people:

Dr. Sun's policies are clear. If certain leaders of the party do not carry them out consistently then they are no longer Dr. Sun's true followers and the party is no longer a revolutionary party, but merely a tool in the hands of this or that militarist. It will have ceased to be a living force working for the future welfare of the Chinese people and will have become a machine, the agent of oppression, a parasite battenning on the present enslaving system.

We face a serious crisis. But it is more of a crisis for us as individuals than for China as a country. Whether the present Kuomintang at this moment rises to the height of its ideals and courageously finds a revolutionary corrective for its mistakes, or whether it slumps into the shamefulness of reaction and compromise, the Three Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen will conquer in the end. Revolution in China is inevitable.

At the moment I feel that we are turning aside from the Master's policy of leading and strengthening the people. Therefore I must withdraw until wiser policies prevail.

There is no despair in my heart for the revolution. My disheartenment is only for the path into which some of those who had been leading the revolution have strayed.

But even these more idealistic and consistent leaders of the Nationalist cause have been able to protest against the rising tide of militarism only by the passive method of withdrawing from participation in public affairs. Outside of a revolt in Nanchang, headed by Generals Yeh Ting and Ho Lung, who were reported not long ago to be carrying on guerilla activity in the mountainous country near the boundary of Kwangtung and Fukien Provinces, there has been no active resistance. The Kuomintang phase of the Chinese revolution has ended, on the whole, quietly and unexpectacularly.

The abortive Kuomintang movement has at least served the purpose of clarifying and throwing into relief the obstacles which a national and social revolution in China must face. And by far the greatest of these obstacles, as the experience of the last few months has shown, is not foreign imperialism, but domestic militarism. The irresponsible war lord, disposing of a mercenary army, has been revealed as the central figure of Chinese reaction. If he could be eliminated, most of the problems which occupy the attention of patriotic young Chinese, including those which grow out of the "unequal treaties," would be well on the way to solution.

When we speak of militarism in Western

Europe or America we think of the evils which arise when a country has built up armaments which constitute a clear menace to the safety of its neighbors or permits its army and navy men to have too great a voice in determining national policy. The word in China has a very different connotation. There is no Chinese national army, in the proper sense of the word. There are only the personal armies or bands of big and little war lords.

MERCENARY GENERALS AND ARMIES

An army in China is a business enterprise, not an instrument of national defense or aggression. The typical Chinese General is an *entrepreneur*, who is convinced that war offers larger rewards than ordinary business. By virtue of his military force the General controls a certain territorial area, from which he extracts all the available funds in the shape of taxes, illicit opium revenue and "squeeze," which the wealthy classes are accustomed to pay for special military protection. Out of his funds he pays his troops more or less regularly, at the same time amassing a handsome fortune for himself, which he carefully invests abroad or in the safety of foreign concessions. Occasionally he fights with a neighbor war lord over some tempting morsel of opium or salt revenue; but these Chinese local wars, while frequent, are seldom sanguinary or protracted. Wealth, rather than power or aggrandizement, is the objective of the typical Chinese General.

The Chinese soldier is also a special type, not unlike the professional man-at-arms of the Middle Ages. It is very seldom that a landed farmer or a worker with any kind of tolerable job will go into military service; and there is no regular conscription in China. The Chinese armies recruit their rank and file mostly from the permanent army of the jobless, from people who would probably be begging or starving if military service did not offer them maintenance, plus more or less regular pay and an occasional chance to loot. For the soldier, as for the General, the Chinese army is a business proposition; there is no nonsense of patriotism about it.

Naturally the allegiance of these mercenary armies is solely to the Generals who pay them and not to any shadowy civil government, representing the, to them, quite incomprehensible conception of the people of China. All the efforts of the Kuomintang to harness these personal armies to its service proved unsuccessful. The grad-

uates of the Whampoa Cadet School, who were given special political training, were not numerous enough to constitute an effective check on their Generals. The political Commissar, an institution borrowed from Russia, did not thrive in the different Chinese conditions. In Russia the political commissars carried out quite effectively their double function of spying out symptoms of treachery among the old officers and giving political instruction and propaganda to the soldiers. But in China, where there was no real power behind the commissars, they were brushed aside with little difficulty by any General who felt that the time was ripe for revolt.

SENSELESS FEUDS

So far the problem of the war lords and their mercenary armies has remained insoluble; and the man who can devise a means of solving it will probably rank as the creator of modern China. For the militarists, with the possible exception of a few benevolent despots of the type of Yen Shi-Shan, Governor of Shansi Province, stand squarely athwart the path of progress. Appropriating most of the revenue for their own selfish purposes, they stint the budget for education and other social ends. Their continual senseless feuds keep the country divided and impoverished. No

program of social betterment which may be promulgated by a civil government in Peking is likely to be very effective until the power of the war lords is curbed, because their wealth is largely derived from opium, from the system of agrarian exploitation and from many other abuses which a progressive Government would wish to abolish. Finally the division of China into spheres of influence, governed by various Generals, is not the least of the factors encouraging foreign intervention and meddling in Chinese affairs. There are very few war lords who will not sell out to a foreign Power.

So far as one can foresee, China will now revert to the state of chaotic militarism which prevailed from the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty until the rise of the Kuomintang aroused hopes that a new progressive and unifying force had made its appearance. These hopes, as has been shown, have been thoroughly disappointed. The net results of the year of the spectacular rise and equally spectacular collapse of the Kuomintang have been the transformation of Canton, formerly an oasis of civilian government, into the seat of a new military dictatorship, more or less offset by the widespread, if short-lived existence of new forms of mass organization, the labor and peasant unions, over a large part of Southern and Central China.



Young women students who form an important factor in the rise of the new China

The Economic Crisis in the Virgin Islands

By THOMAS H. DICKINSON

MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION, 1919-1922; AUTHOR OF SEVERAL BOOKS ON THE DRAMA AND OTHER SUBJECTS

A SUMMARY survey of the economic and social conditions of the Virgin Islands of the United States as they exist ten years after annexation shows that these, the youngest and smallest of our family of colonial possessions, offer problems that are neither of recent origin nor of inconsiderable magnitude.

The first fruits of our naval watchfulness of the Panama Canal, the Virgin Islands were taken over from Denmark, which had owned them for upwards of two centuries, immediately before the entrance of the United States into the war with Germany. The purposes that moved the annexation were purely military and strategic. As is usually the case with military objectives, their attainment involved factors existing long after the objectives had been gained. Having taken over a military asset, the United States finds itself burdened with a peace-time liability. No matter how small the islands may be, the obligations involved in this situation must be met.

On the map the Virgin Islands represent the first of the specks of dry land running eastward and southward out from Porto Rico through the Atlantic Ocean and making up what is known as the Lesser Antilles. In this group there are other dependencies of British, Dutch and French sovereignty. The islands under the United States flag, excluding cays and islets, are three: St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix, with a total land area of 132 square miles. Of these three the nature and uses differ widely. St. Thomas, which is very hilly, possesses the best port, has no agriculture, and is the means of contact with the outside world; St. Croix, larger than St. Thomas and more level, is active in the growing of sugar cane and in cattle grazing; St. John, too small to be of much moment, is best known as the source of excellent bay rum. For the purposes of survey St. Croix, being the seat of almost all the production of the islands, is the most important.

At the present time the Virgin Islands, in common with many other islands of the

West Indies, are undergoing an acute change in all their economic and industrial life. That this crisis is serious is indicated by the fact that every year five hundred negro laborers make their exodus from the islands to the United States. Population has been reduced from about 30,000 to around 20,000 in twenty years. The number of cultivated acres is yearly being reduced. Sugar planting, which during the last century brought high yields, has become a precarious occupation. Cotton fields have practically disappeared from the islands. The most elementary conveniences of government, such as hospitals and school systems, are provided only by means of contributions from the United States Government equal to, or larger than, the entire proceeds of taxation. Even St. Thomas, which was active as a port, has found its importance dwindling on account of changed methods of communication from cable to radio, on account of reduced demand for coaling stations following the introduction of oil-burning engines, and on account of changed travel routes following the war.

As has been seen, the total population of the islands is very small. Small as it is, this population represents the last stand of the old feudal system of industry against the practices of twentieth-century economy. It is this opposition that in large measure explains the present crisis in the islands. The feudal system, based on cheap and ignorant labor, autocratic and romantic-minded overlords and land monopoly, finds itself in startling contest with the systems of the twentieth century, based on scarce, high-paid and increasingly intelligent labor, efficient working executives risen from the ranks, and distributed land. Wherever this opposition occurs today the feudal system fails. Nowhere under the American flag is the system of feudalism so strongly entrenched as it is in the Virgin Islands. Nowhere is the price for maintaining it being exacted so inexorably.

The two supports of the feudal system are cheap labor and hereditary land monopoly. Both these conditions exist in the

Virgin Islands. Slavery was abolished by decree in 1848. Thereafter until the coming of the Americans in 1916, a condition practically equivalent to slavery was maintained by means of contract and colonization systems, importation of cheap labor from the British islands, by drastic penal restrictions and by the free use of rum. The American Government has corrected the most flagrant of these abuses, but labor efficiency continues to be of the lowest. Diseases of malnutrition and ignorance abound. Naturally labor of this type is lazy, predacious and undependable. It is dear at any price.

The second notable feature of the industrial life of the Virgin Islands is hereditary land monopoly. Twenty families and one alien industrial group situated in Denmark own eighty per cent. of the 53,000 acres of the island of St. Croix. The Danish industrial group owns one-quarter of the island. Several families control from 1,000 to 5,000 acres. No pretense is made either to farm or to pasture all of these holdings. From two-thirds to nine-tenths of the acreage of the great estates are not farmed at all or are used only as pasture lands. Always present in the mind of the owner today is the speculative value of the land, the thought being that wealthy Americans will come in and pay inflated prices for land now lying idle. The taxation system encourages holding land for speculation. So-called useless lands are not taxed. Pasture lands are taxed 13½ cents an acre, cultivated lands are taxed 70 cents an acre. Buildings, improvements and cattle are not taxed. Such conditions as these sap the productive vitality of both labor and employer. It is axiomatic that under slavery the condition of the master is but a distorted reflection of the condition of the slave. An economic system based upon pauperization first pauperizes the servant and then pauperizes the master. The white owners of the island of St. Croix, constituting about two per cent. of the population, find themselves in possession of thousands of acres of fertile land which they are unable to cultivate on account of the lack of good labor. Meanwhile thousands of potential laborers live on starvation subsistence in huts and in the outbuildings of ruined sugar mills. The deadlock is complete. The owner will not or cannot give up his land; the field laborer will not or cannot do a good day's work for a good day's pay. The negro faces hunger every day; the planters are land poor.

The productive industry of the islands is

keyed to these conditions of labor and land monopoly. Ninety-five per cent. of the exports of the island are in sugar. Although the soil of the island of St. Croix is very rich and abundantly suitable to the growth of fruits and vegetables, few such products are grown on the islands, save a few for experimental purposes. The great winter vegetable market of the States is relatively untouched.

During recent years the sugar growers of the islands have been facing a series of disasters. The competition of the sugar beet industry has cut in under the canegrowing industry. At the best the yields of St. Croix acres are one-fourth less than those of Louisiana and one-quarter of those of Hawaii. Reduced rainfall has greatly retarded crops in recent years; there are evidences that after hundreds of years of sugar cultivation the soil demands other crops. Sugar planters had one banner year in 1920, when every one became rich. Since then their affairs have rapidly gone down hill. In spite of a preferential position as compared with San Domingo and Cuba planters, who must pay an import tax of \$35 a ton on sugar entering the United States, while sugar is admitted free from St. Croix, subject only to an export duty for local purposes, the St. Croix planters are in straits and are asking for concessions amounting to a subsidy from the United States Government.

ANTI-AMERICAN FEELING

Such were the conditions when the United States took over the islands. Such in effect are the conditions today. Both by the landholders and by labor the United States was looked to for the alleviation of long-standing ills and the improvement of economic status. It must be admitted that both parties have been disappointed in their hope, with a consequent rise of anti-American feeling. When everything is considered it is difficult to see how the United States could do more than has been done. For the land owners it has reduced duties incident to the entry of sugar into the United States from \$35 to \$8, and this year to \$6. It has released for export to Porto Rico cattle grown in the islands. It has lent money for the rehabilitation of sugar centrals. For labor it has abolished practically all the disabilities existing under the Danish régime. For the islands as a whole it has maintained roads, schools, health and experiment station activities at good efficiency. Yet it is fair to say that no class is satisfied. Owners complain of concessions to labor. Labor

feels that the Government is allied with the employers.

Further light on these facts is thrown when it is recognized that at no time has taxation from the islands covered more than 40 per cent. of the service rendered by the United States to the islands. Under the temporary government by the United States the higher administrative officers have been members of the navy and have been paid from the navy budget. Light-house and experiment station activities have been charged against the departments at Washington. Setting these gratuities aside, the contributions from the United States Treasury for the support of the colonial government have been as follows: 1918, \$100,000; 1919, \$200,000; 1920, \$200,000; 1921, \$343,440; 1922, \$343,440; 1923, \$343,440; 1924, \$324,000; 1925, \$270,150; 1926, \$270,150.

We now come to the consideration of the demands made upon the Government of the United States by different parties in the islands. There are in effect two types of demands—for economic assistance by the land owners; for political privilege by the blacks. The demands for economic assistance require first consideration. They fall roughly into the following heads: (1) The demand for the reduction or abrogation of the export duty on sugar. (2) The demand for the construction of water conservation systems. (3) The demand for permission to import cheap labor from the southern islands. In addition to these demands made upon the Government, the capitalists of the islands look to America for investment in their industry, the purchase of their lands and for an annual influx of tourists. All these expectations and demands must be considered, and have been considered, in the light of the monopolistic holding of productive wealth of the islands. For instance, when the islanders ask for the reduction of the export duty on sugar, it should be remembered that these duties constitute the only considerable source of local self-support on the island of St. Croix. On the entire island direct land taxation supplies only about \$20,000 in income. Under such conditions as these it does not appear likely that the United States will be ready either greatly to reduce sugar export duties or to construct water impounding systems until the benefits of these measures would accrue to the many rather than only to the few; nor does it appear likely that the United States Congress would be willing, even were it able, to permit importation of cheap labor into one of the American de-

pendencies under conditions that would not be permitted at home.

When we come to the demands of the blacks, we approach problems of a different type. Subject peoples newly introduced to American prerogatives find themselves subject to some serious dangers. These lie in the implicit belief that all ills, economic, social and even personal, can be cured by snap political action. The reputation of the United States as the home of democracy and the easy dollar has gone abroad. The native is little concerned with the industrial basis of the prosperity of the United States. He is very much interested in its political manifestations.

Enough has been said to indicate that the economic systems of the Virgin Islands are cumbersome, inequitable, out of date and touch with the modern world. For such a condition as this political action is of no avail. What is needed is rigorous economic readjustment. Yet it is precisely this demand for political action that we see in the Virgin Islands. By all means the most serious of these demands come from the blacks. More skilled in political method than the whites, infinitely better orators, above all with backgrounds of resentments and class antagonisms that make for class solidarity, the black field worker of the Virgin Islands is generating a political power that may yet be heard from in the United States.

BLACKS' CLASS ORGANIZATION

Even before the United States took charge the blacks had developed a well-conducted class organization of suasion, propaganda and force. This operated first in the conduct of strikes; it has operated recently in obstructive tactics and guerrilla warfare in the colonial legislative councils. Effective working arrangements have already been made with the Civil Liberties Union and with the political bosses of Harlem, New York, looking to activities in American public and political life. These agitators, leaders, little bosses of the islands, can swing an election, deliver a speech, manoeuvre a strike with ease. They have already learned the shortest way to that good haven of all propaganda, the capital at Washington.

Many of the demands of this group have been under consideration in Congress during the committee discussions of the Bingham and Kiess bills. The demand for American citizenship has been granted. Other demands sum up as three: for universal and unrestricted suffrage, for direct

election of members of legislative councils and for a civil government. In practice the first two offset each other. No one who knows the Virgin Islands would claim that legislative councils elected by the unrestricted suffrage of illiterate field labor could function in government. If suffrage is to be unrestricted, the number of members of colonial councils appointed by the Governor must be considerable. Otherwise the councils would degenerate into debating societies.

Summarizing the facts above given, it appears clear that before there can be any radical reconstruction of productivity of the islands two conditions will have to be met: (1) The growers in the islands will have to be made independent of the accidents of rainfall by means of water impounding systems; (2) The land now held in dead monopoly by a handful of owners will have to be opened to purchase at reasonable prices by settlers from outside the islands and by the black workers.

These two measures are in fact dependent upon each other. Whether the United States is disposed to back a program of reconstruction, and carry it on consistently through years; whether the interests on the Islands are clear-sighted enough to cooperate with such a program if it is launched, are questions lying in the realm of speculation. Irrespective of questions of feasibility the writer has some suggestions to make which are offered for what they are worth:

SUGGESTIONS FOR RECONSTRUCTION

1. The first of these suggestions is addressed particularly to the United States. Whatever policy is adopted for the islands should be adjusted to the internal needs and intellectual inclinations and status of the peoples of the islands, and not to any ready-made ideas of American theorists. This applies to everything other than matters of social justice in which the standards of the United States should be upheld.

2. The educational system of the islands should be adjusted to the economic needs and intellectual situation of the negro. The islands are not well served by a system of education that points the field laborer away from the islands in the direction of Harlem. The negro has learned enough about politics, oratory, sociology and race equality to last him for some time. What he needs is an education that will assist him to raise vegetables and small crops against the time when the land may become available to him. As one of the officials of the islands has

said, what the negro particularly needs is a Booker Washington.

3. The United States is already doing an excellent work in experiment station activities. These should be pushed, and even more energetic measures should be taken to bring the possibilities of small farming to the attention of the poorer classes. The effectiveness of these measures will depend upon the course taken by the landowners regarding land distribution and the rotation of crops.

4. It appears now that there should be a complete but gradual revaluation and substitution of crops. Rotation of crops should be practiced. Sugar should not be permitted to monopolize the field.

5. Land owners must come to the point at which they are willing to distribute the land to productive settlement and to the uses of cultivation by the negro in such a way that the worker gets a return on his labor and not, as at present, employ his labor for the sole benefit of land owner or holder. Land prices must come down to economic value. Taxation systems should no longer encourage speculative holding as against the interests of production.

6. These conditions being met by the masters of the island industry, the United States will be ready for the next step essential to the rehabilitation of the Islands. This would call for two features: (a) A reorganized land policy looking to distribution of land to productive workers perhaps by Government assistance; (b) public works particularly for the conservation and increase of water supply.

Any prosperous future whatever for the Virgin Islands must be predicated upon a reorganization in step with the economic systems of the modern world. Without attempting to dictate to the islanders what they shall do or how they shall conduct their lives we may at least expect them to pay the fiddler for their own dancing. The resources of the islands are ample for this purpose.

Upon the assumption that the above disposition will be shown by the islanders, and that this disposition will be met by constructive programs of assistance on the part of the United States, the most profitable activities for the future industry of the islands would seem to include cattle raising under the advantageous conditions offered under American sovereignty, truck gardening and fruit growing for the seaboard market, and tourist trade drawn by the beautiful Winter climate and lovely scenery of the islands.

The System of Government in Soviet Russia

By JEROME DAVIS

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THERE is nothing mysterious about the Russian Government. It is merely a mechanism of political control which is being hammered out in the give-and-take of revolutionary conditions. The Soviet system was not invented by Lenin and his comrades. As far back as 1905 we find Trotsky at the head of the Soviet in Petrograd. These Soviets were and are merely councils of workers, peasants and soldiers. Early in the revolution Lenin recognized the strategic advantages of using them as the permanent organs of the working class dictatorship.

There is a great deal of confusion in America about the operation of this Soviet mechanism. It is commonly thought of as a tyrannical dictatorship of a small group over the masses of the people. This judgment is largely true concerning its attitude toward monarchists and capitalist sympathizers; it is not true as far as 93 per cent. of the people—the workers and to a less degree the peasants—are concerned. In other words, Russia has frankly a class government—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Americans usually think of liberty as synonymous with political rights. Actually, economic freedom may mean even more to the workers. Everywhere in Russia the trade unions are legal. The workers have more advanced legislation than in any other country in the world: Accident, sickness and unemployment insurance, as well as vacations with pay. They exert great influence on the Government and no law affecting labor can be passed without being referred to the trades unions first. Because of these benefits the workers and even the peasants are not very much concerned about the denial of political freedom to their opponents, who, if they secured the power, would take away these privileges. Where we in America went through a political revolution in 1776, the Russians have been fighting to win not only political but primarily economic rights.

National and Federal Organization—Representation in the Soviet Union is occupa-

tional rather than territorial. In the agricultural districts, since practically all are peasants, there is at one and the same time both geographical and occupational representation. The organization stretches from the local village Soviet, which has one deputy for every 100 inhabitants, up through the township, the county, the provincial and the National Government; then finally the Union of Socialistic Soviet Republics. This includes the Russian, Ukrainian, White Russian, Trans-Caucasian, Ussuri and Turkoman Republics, besides fifteen "autonomous" republics and sixteen "autonomous" provinces. In other words, the vast territory we call "Russia" is really a union of independent republics. In fact, the word "Russia" is deliberately omitted, so as to permit the inclusion of the entire world. Thus if China went communist she could join the Union, which would then become in effect a sort of rival to the League of Nations. Within the Union each of the republics is encouraged to have cultural autonomy and complete independence in local affairs. For example, each nationality keeps its own language in its educational system and in the Soviet.

Each city has its Soviet elected from the various workers' units, both of hand and brain, throughout the municipality. The city Soviets send representatives to the provincial Soviets, which in turn send delegates to the annual congresses of their respective republics and to the congress of Soviets of the Union of Socialistic Soviet Republics, which meets soon afterward. There are about 1,500 delegates in the Union Congress. This Congress has supreme authority and has both legislative and administrative functions.

Central Executive Committee—When the Congress is not in session the authority devolves upon the Union Central Executive Committee, which is divided into a Federal Council of 414 members and a Council of Nationalities. The Federal Council is elected in proportion to the population of the various republics, whereas the Council of Nationalities has five representatives from each of the constituent and

allied republics and one from each autonomous territory, 131 members in all. Laws affecting the entire Union must be passed by both these bodies and in case of disagreement a joint committee is appointed, in much the same way as is done in differences between the House of Representatives and the Senate.

The Central Executive Committee of the Union, which is over these two bodies, is elected by the Union Congress and meets at least three times each year. It passes on the budget, receives the report of the commissars and discusses international policy. It elects a *presidium* of twenty-one members, which passes the laws when the Central Executive Committee is not in session. It also appoints the Council of People's Commissars.

Council of People's Commissars—This Council corresponds to the Cabinet of our President, except that it can also pass emergency legislation. Each member of the People's Commissars is somewhat circumscribed in his powers within his own department by a council or a *Collegia*. This is made up of all the important members of his staff. They meet frequently and any one of the members has the right to appeal to all the People's Commissars against a decision which has been taken. The People's Commissars for the Union—five in all—control, respectively, Foreign Affairs, Defense, Foreign Trade, Transport and Telegraph. These Commissars are solely Union officials and are not found in the various republics.

There are also five United Commissariats which exist both in the Union and in the various republics. These are Labor, Finance, Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, Internal Trade and Supreme Council of Public Economy. There are also People's Commissars for the various republics, which do not have their counterpart in the Union. These are six in number:

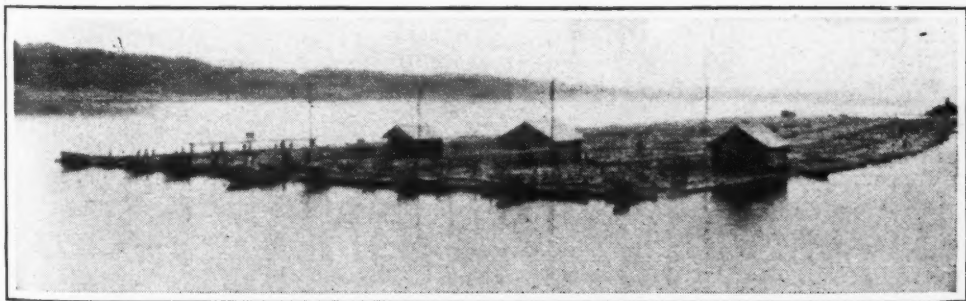
Agriculture, Home Affairs, Justice, Education, Health and Social Welfare.

METHOD OF ELECTION

Elections are by upraised hand. In view of the large percentage of illiteracy it is difficult to see how any other system would function. The Communists claim that since there are no capitalists who have an economic stake in winning the elections the open ballot is not dangerous. Every one 18 years of age, regardless of sex or nationality, has the right to vote; only priests, secret officers of the Tsar's régime, convicts, those who hire three or more workers for profit, or those who live on speculation are debarred. These classes together do not represent on the average over 5 per cent. of the population in the city and 1 per cent. in the country. The workers in each factory join in nominating and electing their representatives, unless the factory is so large as to make it necessary to elect by departments. When a factory has very few workers it joins with another. Housewives and independent handicraft workers meet in geographical districts.

At the present time about 50 per cent. of the voting population take part in the elections—a proportion equal to that participating in a Presidential election in the United States. This would seem to indicate that the people are interested in their government.

The occupational method of election is admirably adapted to a workers' government, because the working classes are in the overwhelming majority. If the workers within a factory elect their own representative, they are likely to elect one of their own number. This means that throughout the Soviet system there is control by the working elements. The city worker is given greater representation than the peasant because it is thought that he



A lumber raft on the River Volga



A peasant gathering in a Russian village

is more intelligent and is more apt to be communistic. The city is allowed representation at the Union Congress on the basis of one representative for every 25,000 potential voters, while the village is allowed representation only in the ratio of one representative for every 125,000 inhabitants. This means, since the municipality elects from its voting population and the county from all its inhabitants, that the city has two and one-half times the representation of the country.

The Soviet system has another advantage from the communistic point of view, in that it is an indirect system of election. Only the smallest Soviets in the village and in the city are elected directly by the whole voting population. The higher Soviets are elected by those below. Thus the Union Congress is elected by the provincial congress, the provincial by the county and city congresses, the county congress by the township and the township by the village. The overwhelming percentage of the population in Russia is made up of peasants, but the higher Soviets are always mixed with the city representatives and usually controlled by them. This enables the Communist Party more easily to exercise control.

The Communist Party—Back of the official Constitution of the Union lies the Communist Party. The Party Constitution provides an organized disciplined group which can put its ideas into practice

through the Soviet machinery. On April 1, 1927, the party had 1,204,736 members and candidates. Of this number 397,586 were candidates and the total number of women was 10 per cent. There are also over 2,000,000 members of the "Komsomols" or (All Union Lenin's) Communistic Union of Youth. This unites all the communistic youth of Russia from 14 to 23 years of age. It is these two groups which really control Russia today. Of the two, the party members are naturally the more important.

The Communist Party has a monopoly of party legality. No other organized party is allowed. In the lower Soviets a large number of non-party representatives are elected. The higher one goes in the scale the more difficult it becomes for a non-party group to elect its candidate in the face of the strongly organized Communist mechanism. The Communist Party structure follows closely the pattern of the governmental system. Each village is supposed to have its cell, composed of three members of the party, each township its Communist Congress and Communist Bureau, and so on, right up the line until one comes to the All Union Communist Congress.

HOW COMMUNIST PARTY KEEPS CONTROL

To understand just how the Communists maintain control of the Government it is necessary to recognize, first, that the mass

of the people are illiterate and have long been accustomed to political dictatorship. On the other hand, the Communist Party in some respects is analogous to American business. The theory on which our business system operates is that the best man rises to the top. Similarly, the Communist Party tries to draw to itself the best people throughout Russia. Certainly the Communist members are not comparable to Republicans or Democrats; they are much more comparable to the active committee members of our two major parties in each town, city and State in the United States. Consequently the politically minded and intelligent citizens of Russia who desire political office are likely to join the Communist Party, just as a man who wanted to become head of the United States Steel Corporation would be likely to enter some form of business training. In the United States the man who wishes to become an industrial magnate would have to be one who worked to secure the maximum amount of profit for his corporation. Similarly, in Russia, a man who wishes to rise to leadership in the Communist Party must be one who is striving to fulfill the fundamental basis of communism, which is to create an economic system which will serve all the workers and not secure private profit for the few.

The Bolsheviks are very rigid in their membership requirements, both as to admission and as to expulsion. Each member must be an active worker. No mere outward adherence to a program will do.

He is taxed from 2 to 5 per cent. of his salary and may not accept more than 225 rubles (\$115) a month, unless he renders certain special extra types of service, such as writing published articles. Even then he must pay into the party treasury a tax of 40 per cent. on his excess income. In order to secure admission to the party ranks, workers need to have two letters of recommendation from party members of a year's standing and serve as candidates for six months. Peasants must have three letters and serve as candidates for a year, while all others need five letters and must serve as candidates two years. Even after one has entered the ranks he may be dropped for cause at any time. Every year hundreds of members are expelled from the party; about 30 per cent. are excluded for intemperance.

There is rigid party discipline, so that once a matter has been decided by any Communist body, each member must accept the decision and help to execute it. If it were not for this rule, first one leader and then another would appeal to the non-party masses and cause trouble. The Communist organization is a hierarchy. Each higher organ is superior to the lower. The highest organ of all is the Communist Congress, which meets once a year. It selects the Central Committee, which meets every two months and corresponds to a party caucus in our country. The Central Committee, together with the *presidium* of the Central Control Commission numbering twenty-five, in its turn elects a Political Bureau com-



A Russian peasant and his old-fashioned wagon

posed of nine members and eight candidates.

The Politburo—This Bureau meets twice a week and decides all questions when the Central Committee is not in session. Under it are subordinate bureaus of organization and a Secretariat. The Political Bureau has great power, because it makes the practical decisions of policy all the time. To be sure, it can be overruled when the Central Committee meets, or at the time of the Annual Congress. Since, however, the Bureau is itself elected by these bodies and has the power of making appointments and of running the party organization in the interim between sessions of the Central Committee, it wields tremendous power. It can appoint a member of the party to any position and he must accept. Members of the Opposition claim that some of their number have been sent away from Moscow simply because they were in the minority.

At the present time Stalin is the leader of the majority in the Political Bureau and also the Secretary of the Communist Party. This makes him the most powerful man in the party. He is undoubtedly the foremost politician in Russia today. He retains his power by the same methods used by American political bosses. He must always command a majority in the Bureau and also a majority of the 670 delegates to the All Union Congress. He must also control the 63 members of the Central Committee of the party and the 163 members of the Central Control Commission. The reason Stalin holds control is simply that he is able to win the allegiance and support of these various bodies.

The Communists are the unifying force throughout Russia. Their strategy is to keep the big positions in their hands and in this they have succeeded. Whether one considers the cooperatives, the higher Soviets, or the railroads, one finds the big positions in their hands. Although the overwhelming majority of the members of the railroad staff or the lower Soviet

organs are non-Communists, the Bolsheviks usually succeed in electing their man to the higher positions of power. Their nucleus in every factory, Soviet, cooperative and village is definitely instructed to try to guide the policies of these various organizations. Nearly all the Communist committees have paid secretaries who are giving full time to party work. There are now about 24,000 of these throughout Russia. Many of them are performing very large public service. In the lower ranks of the Communist organizations some of these secretaries are doing work not wholly unlike that of a Y. M. C. A. secretary. A great deal of educational, cultural and athletic work is being done by them. It is small wonder that with such an organization the Communists are able to keep control of the Russian Government.

While on the debit side it is clear that there is not in Russia the political freedom which Americans would wish to see and while the Communists are actively fighting religion, it is probable that they are hammering out a political mechanism which does represent the people. To say that there is a Communist dictatorship does not mean that the Communists are trying to work against the interests of the masses. On the contrary, they are very definitely trying to meet the needs of the common people. Non-Communists are welcomed in the work of the Soviets throughout the country and are in many cases making a very active contribution to the progress of the country. The trade unions embrace a membership of 10,000,000. If one attends a meeting of a city Soviet with an attendance of 1,500 delegates, as I did repeatedly, one sees that they are genuinely interested in their Government. They actually come from the working ranks. They discuss such questions as the price of grain, the high cost of living and education. America can well afford to send her most able political scientists to Russia to study at first hand what is being done.



The Decline and Fall of the Russian Empire

By S. R. MINTZLOFF
A RUSSIAN HISTORIAN IN EXILE

"It would be better, Fedya, if you had been born a sexton, rather than a Tsarevich."—Words of Ivan the Terrible to his heir-apparent.

THE night when Emperor Alexander III died at Livadia was filled with alarm and confusion. The Dowager Empress, Marie Feodorovna, was the first who had to take the oath of allegiance to Nicholas II, but she categorically refused to do so. Several Grand Dukes came to her aid and requested Nicholas to abdicate in favor of his younger brother, Michael. The young Empress, Alexandra Feodorovna, refused to yield, and firmly stated her rights. She and Nicholas, who was also at a loss, were supported by Grand Duke Sergei Mikhailovich, who declared that if the Empress-mother did not take the oath immediately it would be necessary to pronounce her guilty of high treason. Marie Feodorovna wept, and said over and over again: "Can't you understand? I know him better than you; he is my son, and to no one is he nearer than to me, but under his rule Russia will go to ruin!"

An infantry regiment, of which Nicholas was the honorary regimental commander, was stationed at that time at Livadia. He was well acquainted with the officers of the regiment and was frequently seen at dawn returning home after a spree with them. The appearance of the officers of that regiment at the moment of crisis brought support to Nicholas, a fact which he remembered throughout his entire reign, as shown by his often paying their debts, playing cards with them, and so forth.

Sergei Mikhailovich was the first to take the oath; he was followed by all the other members of the imperial family. Only the Empress-mother did not take the oath, and to prevent others from noticing it she was declared to be ill.

Before his death Alexander III made Nicholas swear that he would abdicate the throne as soon as Michael was 21 years old. "You yourself know that you cannot preserve Russia. Preserve her until Michael becomes of age," he said to him. Nicholas

gave his word, but he did not keep it. Subsequently he often said that the cause of all the failures which hung over his head like a cloud throughout his entire reign was the breaking of the oath which he had given to his dying father.

Under such ominous circumstances Emperor Nicholas II ascended the throne. The first warning of fate was the Khodynka catastrophe, which occurred on the most important holiday of the Czars—Coronation Day—when, owing to the neglect of the city officials to take necessary measures, several hundred people were crushed to death by the crowd.

The progressive elements of Russia, held in check by the strong hand of Alexander III in their efforts to develop the great reforms which had been carried through by Alexander II, expected from the young Czar further necessary changes, but a delegation of the representatives of the people was told by the Czar himself that all progressive projects were "senseless dreams" and that he would resolutely follow his father's policy. This policy consisted of remaining inactive and gradually deviating from the reforms of Alexander II; in other words, the young Czar declared himself an enemy even of the semblance of a Constitution, and by this, from the very beginning, he alienated the majority of the intelligentsia.

The many millions of peasants, plunged in the heavy sleep of ignorance, knew nothing of what was going on. They did not even understand what the word "Constitution" meant; a better future they saw only in an additional lot of land and loaf of bread, and they took no interest in politics. To wake them up, nothing short of a political cataclysm was required. Intentionally or unintentionally, not only the Left elements but also the Right (the intelligentsia), were working to bring about just such a cataclysm. The Left influenced the people by propaganda, the Right by acts which revolted everybody.

What was the personality of that autocratic ruler of 150,000,000 people, who sought to emulate the example of Jesus of

Nazareth in commanding the stormy waters to be still? He was a small, weak, but obstinate man, who possessed neither the knowledge, nor the intellect, nor the vision of a statesman. His personality was that of a small *pomieschik* (proprietor of a landed estate), kindly, easy in domestic life and hospitable, who knew how to be charming, but whose charm, as in the case of his great-grandfather, Alexander I, concealed a double-faced attitude.

Alexander III estimated Nicholas's character at its true value and did not like him. While Nicholas was heir-apparent, he was not allowed to participate in any discussion of State affairs; and the only thing which he inherited from his father's reign was his distrust of men.

Further light on the Czar's character as ruler and man is thrown by the opinions expressed of him by his nearest and most prominent collaborators. The following are typical:

Witte—Poor Emperor! What a small "great" autocrat Nicholas II is! * * * All his system consists of swinging on a political see-saw. Today he swings to this, tomorrow to that. * * * In order to get rid of some one, Nicholas II weaves an artful mesh and often gets entangled in it himself. * * * The Czar hardly tolerates the presence near him of men whom, in his inner thoughts, he considers more intelligent than himself.

Svyatopolk-Mirski—All our misfortunes are fundamentally caused by the character of the Emperor; he cannot be believed in anything; today he says one thing, tomorrow the opposite.

Hundreds of such opinions might be quoted. They are identical, no matter where they come from—from the Left or from the Right. But the most curious thing is that in their own circle the monarchists spoke about the Czar more insultingly and badly than their opponents.

The Czar, having turned his back to the Russian intellectuals, naturally found himself in the camp of those who in their association with him saw a means of attaining personal advantages. Their servility made him believe them a stronghold of monarchy; it seemed to him that he was ruling, but where there is no will there is no power, and he became a pawn in the hands of the court camarilla, whom the rough but clear-sighted Witte calls in his memoirs "lepers," "political rabble, lunatics and idiots." The camarilla acted, as one should expect it to act, without ceremony; its members plundered the State Treasury whenever they could, and behaved outside of the palace like autocrats. The

struggle of the honest Ministers against these unceremonious plunderers of high rank led only to the situation that big gifts of many thousand rubles were made by "imperial orders," for which no Minister's consent was necessary. The Czar of 150,000,000 people never once, in all his life, had looked into a book of Russian law and was wholly oblivious to legal procedure. The most dangerous aspect of this plundering of the Treasury was the fact that the Grand Dukes took a most conspicuous part in it.

In the days of Alexander II and Alexander III Russia knew only individual revolutionaries, and the great mass of the people did not sympathize with them. During the reign of Nicholas II almost the whole of the intelligentsia went over to the revolutionaries' side, and as always happens in such cases, even in the good things emanating from Nicholas II it suspected and saw fraud and evil. A mass psychosis set in. No other name can be given this mood, which prevailed among the intellectual classes and grew wider and deeper; the better elements had a feeling of hostility, combined with a longing for changes; the bad elements rejoiced at the thought of the coming of anarchy and the profit they could derive from it. Nowhere in the world was the revolution such a welcome guest as in Russia. The history of the French Revolution was studied in universities and was cited everywhere. Even quite well-to-do and wealthy people, high officials, manufacturers, and so forth, that is, those who later on became the principal sufferers, were in sympathy with the revolution or actually joined it. The people generally were glad to see its implacable approach and were blind to the imprisonments or executions bound to follow in its train. It seemed to every one that the withdrawal of the Romanovs would initiate an eternal holiday and that jails and executions were destined for some one else.

RISE OF TERRORISM

In 1901 began the activities of the terrorists, assassins of Ministers, Governors and heads of city police. One after the other fell from bullets and bombs: Bogolepov, Sipyagin, Plevé and others. Nicholas II himself was not attacked; he was considered too insignificant to be killed. "The state of things in the land is sad, if not terrible!" said Witte openly, as early as 1907. But those standing near the Czar did not understand the situation, and, sure

of themselves, they interpreted the awakening elemental forces as manifestations of a superficial character, emanating from small groups of audacious men attacking the Anointed of God.

The worse the situation outside the palace became the stronger grew the self-conceit and complacency of the imperial couple, which reached such a point that one day the Czar told the Procurator of the Holy Synod to submit in a few days for his signature a decree of beatification for a certain old priest, one Seraphim, who had been especially revered by the imperial family since the reign of Alexander I. Pobedonostsev answered that only the Holy Synod, which is the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, had the right to beatify, and even then not before a thorough study of all the circumstances of the life of the candidate for beatification had been made. The young Empress was present at that conversation. "But the Emperor can do everything!" she said, and Pobedonostsev, on his return home, found a note from the Czar directing him to canonize Seraphim at such and such a time. The order was carried out.

While such was the mood among the wide masses of the people, the palace camarilla drew Russia into the war with Japan. This misfortune, which cost Russia hundreds of thousands of lives and millions of rubles, fell upon Russia solely because of the greed and impudent acts of robbery of Messrs. Bezobrazov, Alexeiv, Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovich and company, who started the seizure of Korea's natural resources and provoked the intervention of Japan. The rôle played in this adventure by the politically blind Nicholas was pitiful to the extreme. The autocrat "firmly" stated that "there will be no war, because I do not wish it!" And that same night a Japanese torpedo struck the side of a Russian battleship at Port Arthur.

Only the Czar and his entourage were pleased that a war had begun. The camarilla looked upon it as upon a new opportunity for stealing millions; the Czar as a means of winning heaven-sent laurels of victory; taken together they saw in the war a reliable lightning rod to deflect the revolution. The Minister of the Interior, speaking to the Commander in Chief, Kuropatkin, formulated that idea clearly and precisely: "A small victorious war is necessary for us to stop the revolution!" The opposite happened: instead of a military excursion to Japan there occurred a defeat of the Russian Army and the collapse of

the empire began. The war was very unpopular, and during its first days an event took place, known as the Ninth of January, which shook the whole of Russia. On that day the organized workmen of St. Petersburg decided to proceed peacefully to the square of the Winter Palace and to hand the Czar a petition setting forth their personal needs. They did not conceal their intentions, and, on Jan. 8, a conference was held at the Ministry of the Interior to decide upon the attitude to be adopted by the Government. On the same evening a deputation of Russian writers, headed by Arseniev, member of the Academy, and Maxim Gorky, came to see Witte and requested him to persuade the Czar, bearing in mind his own interests and those of the country, to meet the workmen and to receive their petition.

MASSACRE OF JAN. 9, 1905

But the evil genius of the Czar was stronger than Witte; and persuaded Nicholas that he would expose himself to a deadly danger if he allowed the workmen to be admitted to his presence; and when, on Jan. 9, the common people, dressed in their holiday clothes, together with their wives and children, carrying icons and portraits of the Czar and headed by a priest, came to bow before their Czar, the "little father," they were fired upon and cavalry was moved against them. Is it necessary to say what implacable hatred, now directed against the Czar himself, was lighted in the hearts of hundreds of thousands of workmen by those volleys?

Fate, which heaped misfortune on Nicholas II all through his life, on that day handed him a trump card: if he had gone out to meet his people, who with their mothers' milk had imbibed love and faith in their Czars, and had spoken to them a kindly word, the people would have answered with such enthusiasm, and even joy, that the threat of revolution would have disappeared for a long time to come. Instead of that, Nicholas II hid himself like a coward in Tsarskoe Selo, and from that time on the blood of those hundreds of victims made an insurmountable barrier between him and the masses.

Soon the whole country was ablaze. Meetings, revolutionary outbursts, burnings of country estates, began everywhere; the revolutionaries incited the people cleverly; the press grew bold to the point of forgetting all restraints. The Government, which could rely only upon the troops of the

Guards, answered the movement by issuing the following order to the troops: "Do not save cartridges and do not fire blank shots!"—also by arrests; chaos spread more and more over the country. In October, 1905, that chaos turned into a general strike of unprecedented dimensions. The life of the great nation stopped at once; cities were enveloped in darkness; trains did not run; steamers did not sail; post-offices did not function; even the street cars disappeared; policemen were shot as they stood at their posts. The country was like a powder magazine which a sputtering fuse is on the point of exploding.

The authorities were at a loss. The Czar looked for advice first to one counsellor and then to another; on the same day he would summon to a conference now Witte, now his political opponent, Goremykin. As the upshot of all these discussions there finally appeared, on Oct. 17, 1905, the famous manifesto granting freedom and establishing the Duma.

The intellectual classes had expected to get a Constitution, but there was no mention of this in the manifesto. Russia became a peculiar "free country," with an autocratic and unlimited monarch at its head. This "nonsense" made the public look upon the manifesto from the beginning with distrust and hostility. The Czar, it was obvious, was showing too much indulgence to the "Rights," and thus he continued to undermine his position and to contribute to anarchy. The whole subsequent activity of the Czar and his collaborators up to the end of the empire may be characterized as a struggle against the reforms of Alexander II and against his own "grant of freedom."

War, in the meantime, brought defeat after defeat, and ended finally with a shameful peace as a result of continual retreats and defeats; the armies disintegrated to such a degree that it became necessary to send fresh troops, not only for the protection of the Trans-Siberian Railway, by which the wild hordes of the army were returning, but also for punitive expeditions. Similar expeditions were sent to various parts of the empire, where, with the participation of the unruly soldiers, pogroms against the landlords were taking place. These punitive expeditions were marked by cruelty and complete arbitrariness. But when Witte submitted to the Czar one of the telegrams reporting the revolting activity of a certain General Richter, who executed without trial any man he laid his hands on, the Czar wrote on the

telegram: "*Ai da molodets!*" (A clever fellow). The tragic Ninth of January was marked also for the imperial family by an unhappy event; on that day the young Empress became psychically abnormal. While suckling little Alexis she was frightened by the news that the people had risen in revolt and that vast throngs were marching to kill the Czar. Snatching up her son, she ran about the rooms, recognizing no one and weeping. She would sit day after day with her coat and hat on, refusing to undress, imagining that she was riding away somewhere, saving her life from assassins. Two well-known psychiatrists, Rossalimo and Minor, were summoned from Moscow; they demanded that the sick Empress should be sent away and placed under strict medical control.

RASPUTIN

Instead of that, the two famous experts were sent away, and as their successor appeared Rasputin, who was recommended by the wife of the Grand Duke Nicholas, Anastasia. A man with chestnut hair, with a pale, lean face, with dread-inspiring, watery, light eyes, with an unkempt beard and unkempt hair—such was the external picture of this common, almost illiterate Siberian peasant, who possessed a great hypnotic force. He knew how to produce a soothing effect upon the Czar and the Empress, who recovered in six months, and he became not only a welcome guest in the Czar's family but also the friend of both of them. To the end of her life the Empress did not change her attitude toward him, and in her letters to her husband she called Rasputin by the name of "Friend," always writing that word with a capital letter. It is hardly necessary to say that in their relations there was not even a shadow of anything unclean—this was a hideous invention of malicious people. The Empress adored Alexis, who was suffering from an incurable illness [hemophilia—tendency to bleed], and there was no limit to her fear for him. The doctors were powerless to give the Czarevich relief and he often had attacks of bleeding. Rasputin, by merely placing his hands on Alexis, could stop the fiercest bleeding immediately. The royal mother saw in him the savior of her son, and he inspired her with awe.

Continuous worry over the heir apparent, great nervousness, the bad influence of the Grand Duchess Anastasia, who had won the Empress's confidence, and of her sister (they were known under the name of the "Montenegrin women"), all this brought

her into a state of pathological mysticism. The Lutheran of yesterday turned into a most zealous Orthodox; she became convinced that the "Friend" of their family was a saint and their guardian angel, and that as long as he lived no evil could come to them. This was asserted also by Rasputin himself, who added that if he perished the whole imperial family would perish shortly after him. * * * His words turned out to be a prophecy.

Within the palace Rasputin conducted himself like an austere ascetic. But his dissolute nature could not stand the strain of such a pose for a long time, and outside the palace he gave vent to his true nature and acted like a reckless, reveling tradesman-peasant, going beyond the limits of all decency.

Rasputin, as already stated, was introduced into the palace by the "Montenegrin women," who filled the palace with psychopaths under the name of "saints," but fundamentally it was the attitude of the Russian nobility that created Rasputin. Seeing the attention paid him by the Emperor and the Empress, the nobles almost in a body started to call on him and pay their homage to the new luminary; at the front door of the peasant of yesterday carriages of counts and princes would draw up, one after the other, from morning till night, a shameful procession. They called on him not only to pay their respects but also to get something: a brief note, or a word of Rasputin was prized higher in ministerial offices and by Governors than those of the Emperor. Even the appointments and dismissals of Ministers were made by Rasputin, who whispered to the Empress the names of his candidates. Ministers changed almost daily, and their quick succession was called within the walls of the Duma by the well-known expression of "ministerial leap-frog." It is obvious that the moral value of those who secured high positions in such a way was equal to a minus, and that the disintegration of the country was proceeding on an ever deeper and wider scale.

The State Duma, thanks to a supplement to the manifesto of Oct. 17 (the law of the 3d of June), was placed on the basis not of an elected but rather a selected body; and, of course, was unable to help in placing the country on a sound foundation. No ceremonies were wasted on the Duma; if it was necessary to put through a new law, which might meet with opposition, a loophole, provided by the law, was made use of. The Duma would be dismissed "for three days," in the course of which the new

law would be approved and enacted by a mere imperial decree.

Wide use was made of *agents-provocateurs*, among whom the most conspicuous and unprincipled were Azev and Landesen. These secret agents of the police for a number of years denounced their revolutionary comrades; on the other hand, they were responsible for the assassination of the most prominent members of the Government (sometimes with the knowledge of the Police Department) at the hands of those same comrades.

Only the courts, which had full right to be proud of their personnel of judges, so long as their tenure of office remained independent of change, were not corrupt, but even justice was dishonored by the Minister of Justice, Shcheglovitov, who, by canceling the law of irremovability of judges, turned them, as well as the Senate, into obedient executives of his will.

At the head of the Ministry of Public Education were placed men like Kaufmann, who had never had any connection with education, and who did not know how to administer their office, or such extinguishers of education as Kasso, who applied to the professors and universities the same methods which Shcheglovitov applied to the courts.

Incredible things were going on in the province, where the personal wish of the authorities was most unscrupulously substituted for the law. For instance, in Odessa, one of the largest cities in Russia, the head of the police, General Tolmachev, interfered in the purely medical affairs of the hospitals, in the teaching in schools, forbade the use of certain narcotics in surgical operations, and arbitrarily deported people in twenty-four hours. It happened, sometimes, that certain prisoners were killed by the escort, allegedly for "an attempt to escape."

In 1911 Prime Minister Stolypin, a man with a strong will, who stood out among his incapable colleagues, was shot to death by his own secret agent. [Stolypin was the supreme head of the secret police.]

WORLD WAR—THE DEBACLE

In 1914 the World War began, a result for which Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich, who had ambitions to become a great military leader, cannot be pronounced blameless. The Russian Army, in general, was of splendid quality, but it had for its base a rear morally rotten, corrupted by the Government, and the consequences of this made themselves immediately visible: the rear

was not prepared for war. One of those most responsible for this state of affairs was the closest friend of the Czar—Grand Duke Sergei Mikhailovich, who was at the head of the Artillery Department of the Ministry of War. The general headquarters of Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich, worried by the tremendous expense of munitions at the front, made an inquiry at the Artillery Department as to the state of the munitions depots. An answer was given that there would be no lack of munitions. The War Minister, Sukhomlinov, worried by the same question, charged his assistant, General Polivanov, to investigate the situation, but he reported that he was unable to do anything, because the Artillery Department had been "covered with armor" (made inaccessible to him) by Grand Duke Sergei Mikhailovich. And shortly afterwards the heroic Russian Army was forced to repulse the German attacks on the Carpathians with stones, instead of bullets and shells, and the slopes of the mountains were strewn with tens of thousands of corpses.

PLUNDERING THE TREASURY

Plunder of the Treasury under the pretext of purchasing supplies, constructing ships, and so forth, was going on impudently. The Grand Dukes, ignoring the Ministers, whose consent they were unable to obtain, were putting through orders, which they considered necessary, directly applying for imperial decrees to the Czar.

The war was unsuccessful, and Nicholas II, acting under the influence of his wife, sent the Commander in Chief, Nikolai Nikolaevich, to the Caucasus, and took that post himself. This step had no other results than a strengthening of the universal hatred of the young Empress and a weakening of the morale of the army. There may be different opinions as to the talents of Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich, but we admit that he was a man of energy, who knew how to hold the power in his hands. The army liked him and had faith in him; the same holds true with regard to the attitude of the people toward him. This attitude was the principal cause of the hatred which the young Empress felt toward him; she was afraid of a coming palace *coup d'état*, the rumors of which began to spread everywhere.

It was clear already to many that the catastrophe was near and that it could be diverted only by heroic measures, but Nicholas II did not understand to the last moment what was going on; others also did not understand. Many thought that Ras-

putin was the cause of the disintegration and ruin of Russia, and so on the night of Dec. 17, 1916, in the palace of Prince Yusupov, Grand Duke Dmitri Pavlovich, Prince Yusopov, and a member of the Extreme Right of the Duma, Puryshkevich, killed Rasputin, whom they had lured to take part in a spree, and threw his corpse from a bridge into the Neva. The grief and anger of the young Empress were extraordinary. But they turned into rage when the wisest of the Grand Dukes, the historian, Nikolai Mikhailovich, sent a letter to the Czar, in which, pointing out that his policy threatened the dynasty with complete ruin, he insisted that the Empress, whom everybody hated, should be sent away. The same was intimated in a cautious way by other Grand Dukes, but Nicholas II neither had the strength to agree with them nor to punish them for their impertinence.

On Feb. 24, 1917, the Russian Monarchy collapsed like a house of cards. As if at the sign of a magic wand everybody, even the army, at once turned away from Nicholas II, and the power passed into the hands of the Provisional Government, formed by the President and members of the Duma.

On March 1 a belated, absurd manifesto over the signatures of Grand Dukes Paul, Cyril and Michael was made public, "granting" the people, who were already free, in the name of the Czar, a Constitution. But at that time a Constitution was not enough, and on March 3 a complete abdication of Nicholas II for himself and for the heir apparent took place.

The new *coup d'état* and the seizure of power by the Bolsheviki occurred at the time when Nicholas II and all his family were in exile. In the Summer of 1918, in a small town, Ekaterinburg, took place the final act of the personal tragedy of the ill-fated Czar. At night, in the basement of the house of a merchant, which had been turned into a prison, executioners killed by shooting the former ruler of half of the world. He faced death bravely, holding his sick boy, the Czarevich, on his arm. With him were killed the Empress and all their four daughters.

Thus the imperial period of Russia came to an end. And as one casts back upon it a final glance, one feels bound to say that not only were the Czars guilty of the ruin of the State but that the guilt must be shared by the whole intelligentsia, who refused to consider that simple truth that liberalism means nothing unless it is based on real life and history, and not on chimeras.

Germany's Support of Austria in July, 1914

I—Former German Foreign Minister's View

By GOTTLIEB VON JAGOW

THE reproach has often been brought against the German Government that its declaration that it did not know the terms of the Austrian ultimatum before it was communicated to it on the evening of July 22, 1914, did not correspond with the facts. This reproach rests, probably, in the main, upon the report of Von Tschirschky, the German Ambassador at Vienna, dated July 10, 1914 (*German Documents*, No. 29), regarding an interview with Count Berchtold, in which the latter expressed himself regarding the action against Serbia and the probable contents of the ultimatum to be sent to that country. That report was as follows:

The formulation of suitable demands against Serbia is the principal question here at this time, and Count Berchtold said that he would like to know what is thought about the matter in Berlin. He thought that it could be demanded that an agency of the Austro-Hungarian Government be established at Belgrade to watch over Greater-Serbian machinations from there, also probably the dissolution of societies and the dismissal of several compromised officers. The period to answer must be the shortest possible, probably forty-eight hours.

Thereupon we answered the Ambassador (*German Documents*, No. 31) that we could take no position regarding the formulation of the demands upon Serbia, that being Austria's business; and we added that it was desirable for Vienna to collect sufficient material to convince the public opinion of Europe of the justice of Austria's case.

The form and contents of the remarks of Count Berchtold were conditional ("he thought that it could be" * * * "also probably"), not positive; and it was possible for the moment to regard the information communicated as the personal opinion of Count Berchtold, as provisional and not binding. Von Tschirschky says that the formulation of suitable demands is "the principal question" in Vienna at that time; *i e.*, the question was under discussion. Decisions were not yet made, and they depended upon the concurrence of other factors, such as the joint Ministerial Council, and above all, the concurrence of Count Tisza, the Hungarian

Minister, not to mention the assent of the Emperor Franz Josef. Von Tschirschky reports also that Count Berchtold complained of differences of opinion with Count Tisza. It is known that the latter did not abandon his resistance to Berchtold's views until July 14.

Count Berchtold had commissioned the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Berlin to say to the Chancellor that as soon as definite decisions were reached (the time for this depended still upon the conclusion of the investigation at Sarajevo) Count Berchtold would at once bring them to the knowledge of the German Government (*Das Wiener Kabinett und die Entstehung des Weltkrieges*, by Dr. Roderich Gooss: Vienna, 1919, p. 73). These decisions, however, were not communicated to us till the 22d.

On July 13, Von Wiesner, who had been entrusted with the Sarajevo investigation, submitted a report about his impressions received on the spot, made proposals regarding the demands to be addressed to Serbia, and added that he would make an oral supplement to his report after his return to Vienna (Gooss, pp. 92, 93). On July 14, Count Berchtold in a personal audience reported to the Emperor that the drawing up of the note was then to be begun (Gooss, p. 85), and not till July 19 did the discussion of the definite decisions and the adoption of the text of the note take place in the Ministerial Council at Vienna (Gooss, p. 84 ff.). According to the findings of Gooss, various versions of the note were drawn up, changed and corrected, and the definite form probably did not occur till the 19th, the day on which the Ministerial Council met (Gooss, p. 91 ff.).

On July 14 Count Berchtold had again said to Von Tschirschky that after the adoption of the text on Sunday (the 19th) and *before* laying it before the Austrian Emperor he would at once send it to the German Government (*German Documents*, No. 30). On the 19th I instructed our Ambassador in Vienna by telegraph to ask Count Berchtold for the immediate communication of the intended note as soon as

it was definitely completed and ready to be laid before the Emperor (of Austria). I added (to my telegram): "Advance information desired regarding essential points of intended steps." (*German Documents*, No. 77). I also begged the Austrian Ambassador at Berlin on several occasions for the information. In spite of this we did not obtain knowledge of the note before the evening of July 22.

GERMANY'S RECEIPT OF ULTIMATUM

The Austro-Hungarian representatives—including the Ambassador in Berlin—were instructed to communicate the note to the Powers on July 24, after it had been handed in at Belgrade, which was to occur on the evening of the 23d. Count Szögyeny had indeed handed us the note by the evening of the 22d, the day before it was to be delivered at Belgrade; but that was only upon special request to his superior in Vienna (Count Berchtold), in making which he referred to my *importunity* regarding the communication. Count Berchtold answered his Ambassador that the document referred to had "only a formal significance" for Germany, as he had already confidentially acquainted our Vienna Ambassador with the contents of the note. This information was given by means of sending the note to our Ambassador through Count Forgach (and that only after it had been laid before the Emperor). The report from Vienna which contained the note was not received in Berlin until the 22d and could not have arrived earlier, inasmuch as our Ambassador could not give the text of the note to the Austrian postoffice for telegraphing, owing to the secret cipher. I did not receive the note mentioned until the evening of the 22d, when it came before me in the ordinary routine of business. The remark of Count Berchtold that the "document has only a *formal significance*" for Germany can at best have only a "formal" justification through the fact that the note had been sent to our Ambassador in Vienna on the evening of the 21st, at a time when, as Count Berchtold knew, it would not reach Berlin before the 22d (only one day, accordingly, before it was handed to Serbia).

By means of this chronological narrative it seems sufficiently proved that, as a matter of fact, we got sight of the "ultimatum" only on the evening of the 22d—too late to exert influence upon Vienna. When Count Szögyeny brought me the note I did not conceal from him my astonishment about this and my objections to the note itself. Count Tisza, too, in one of his last speeches

in the Hungarian Parliament, confirmed the fact that we did *not* take part in fixing the tenor of the note.

Our declaration that we did not know beforehand was made in thorough good faith, and it was justified by the facts, both formally and materially. For the information of July 10 about the demands which might probably be made upon Serbia *does not correspond* to the note. Apart from the fact that this information had only a hypothetical tenor and, in view of the situation, could be only provisional, the note itself goes much further and is more comprehensive, containing many more points than those mentioned on July 10. Besides that, in the case of demands made in the form of an ultimatum, very much depends upon the specific formulation and the conditions for execution.

Perhaps a criticism of us might be drawn from the fact that we did not answer Count Berchtold's communication and inquiry of July 10 by going into the merits of the question. But that would not have harmonized with the standpoint that we had adopted from the start; namely, that after the murder of the heir to the throne we regarded a proceeding against Serbia on the part of Austria as justifiable and approved it. We regarded the Austro-Serbian conflict as an affair that did not concern a third party, and not even us for the time being. We wanted to "localize" the conflict. Only an intervention by Russia could draw us in. For that event we had promised the fulfillment of our duty as an ally. If we had from the start guided the decisions of Vienna and made these thereby in detail our own, as it were, we would have assumed a joint responsibility for those decisions and would have tied our hands so far as all further negotiations might be concerned. We could not longer have fully undertaken any mediation between Vienna and St. Petersburg. Moreover, so far as the demands mentioned by Count Berchtold on July 10 are specifically concerned, they could hardly be regarded as in themselves unjustifiable. The suppression of agitating societies and the dismissal of compromised officers probably appeared as self-evidently desirable, and the establishment of an Austro-Hungarian agency in Belgrade to watch over Greater Serbian machinations was in itself not an exorbitant demand. Count Berchtold himself pointed to the analogy of the Russian *Bureau de Sûreté* existing at Paris, and declared that there was no intention to infringe Serbia's sovereignty. Austria could not rely upon the

precautions of the Serbian Government alone, after that Government had failed to keep the promises made to Austria in 1909. How the proposed steps were to be carried out was precisely the point of chief importance in the ultimatum. The very text of the note with its manifold demands appeared—although less assailable objectively—still distinctly sharp (harsh, as Sir Edward Grey said) and far-reaching. If the Cabinets and public opinion had been at that time, as they are today, sufficiently well informed as to the complicity of official Serbian authorities in the plot, Vienna's demands would probably have been judged differently. It was precisely the effect of Austria's action upon "the public opinion of Europe" that we had in mind when we gave the Vienna Government the advice to bring forward proofs against Serbia.

The assertion has been made that we gave Austria *carte blanche*. I cannot let that pass, either, without qualification. The freedom of action that we conceded to Austria found its natural limits in the goal that we were aiming at: we wished to obtain for Austro-Hungary the necessary satisfaction and security, but to "localize" her conflict with Serbia. The extension of it to third Powers through a war with Russia was to be avoided if possible. This imposed limits. When Russia then interfered we at once took over the rôle of mediator. The path to a solution of the crisis appeared to be opened through the commencement of direct negotiations between Vienna and St. Petersburg, when Russia threatened us, too, through her general mobilization and thereby made the outbreak of war unavoidable.

II—An American Historian's Criticism

By BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

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IT is difficult to accept the contentions of the former German Minister of Foreign Affairs. For while his facts are, generally speaking, correct, many other facts are not mentioned which are fatal to this thesis and which are recorded in the German documents themselves.

Let us start with Herr von Jagow's opening sentence: "The reproach has often been brought against the German Government that its declaration that it did not know the terms of the Austrian ultimatum before it was communicated to it on the evening of July 22, 1914, did not correspond with the facts." He thus admits that the German Government had the text of the ultimatum on the day before it was presented to Serbia; in fact, he admitted it in his memoirs published in 1919. (*Ursachen und Ausbruch des Weltkrieges*, p. 109.) Yet, on July 24, 1914, he declared to the French Ambassador that "the Berlin Cabinet had been entirely ignorant of Austria's requirements before they were communicated to Belgrade" (French *Yellow Book*, No. 30); on the following day he "repeated very earnestly [to the British Chargé] that he had had no previous knowledge of the contents of the Austro-Hungarian note, although he had been accused of knowing all about it" (*British Documents on the Origins of the War*, Vol. XI, No. 122; British *Blue Book*, No. 18); on the same day the Russian Govern-

ment was informed by the German Ambassador in St. Petersburg that "the German Government had no knowledge of the Austrian note before it was presented" (Russian *Orange Book*, No. 18). It is something gained that Herr von Jagow does not attempt to defend or explain away his statements made in 1914, but the fact remains that the German conduct toward the Entente Governments in July, 1914, was disloyal and merited the suspicions which they promptly formed.

The former German Minister argues that the program sketched by Count Berchtold on July 10 was "conditional, not positive"; that the information was "provisional, not binding"; therefore he was justified in waiting for a definite statement of the Austrian intentions. But instead of doing so he asked, on July 19, for the text of the note and for "advance information regarding essential points of intended steps." The Vienna Cabinet, however, although it had promised to communicate the note even before it was submitted to the Emperor Francis Joseph, did not do so, and the German Government received the document only "in the ordinary routine of business" on the evening of July 22, "too late to exert influence on Vienna." Nevertheless, says Herr von Jagow, he did not conceal from the Austrian Ambassador his "astonishment about this" and his "objections to the note itself."

Herr von Jagow does not mention at all

the fact that on July 11 his Ambassador at Vienna supplemented the official telegram of July 10 with a private letter, in which it was stated that "a closer agreement has been arrived at since yesterday with the President of the Hungarian Council [Tisza]" and that Count Berchtold "hoped by Tuesday [July 14] to be able to determine on the final version of the document." Herr von Tschirschky stated what had already been determined upon:

The principal demands on Serbia would consist of the requirement that the King should officially and publicly proclaim, in a formal declaration and through an order to the army, that Serbia discarded her Greater-Serbia policy; secondly, the institution of an agency of the Austro-Hungarian Government to see to the strict keeping of this promise would be required. The term granted for the answering of the note would be made as short as possible, say, perhaps, forty-eight hours. If the reply is not regarded here as satisfactory, mobilization will take place at once. (*Official German Documents relating to the World War*, Vol. I, p. 119.)*

This letter was received in Berlin on the afternoon of July 12. Thus, at least thirty-six hours before the time set for the final decision, Herr von Jagow knew that Tisza had accepted the Berchtold program. There was time to have acted if the German Government had wished to do so.

It did not wish to do so. But, says Herr von Jagow, it asked for the text of the note. So it did. For what purpose? Not, as the German Minister's argument implies, from any interest in the contents of the note *per se*, but "in order that we can prepare in proper time our *démarches* toward the other Powers" (*German Documents*, No. 77). A second request, made the next day, strikes the same note: "In order to facilitate the handling of our publicity, it would be of the greatest advantage to us to be exactly informed not only as to the contents but also as to the day and hour of publication" (*German Documents*, No. 83). In neither request for information is the slightest concern exhibited about the substance of the note: the only concern was, since the German Government intended to support the note, to know what it was supporting. But, actually, it did not wait to find out, for on July 21, a day before it got the text of the note, it sent a circular dispatch to London,

Paris and St. Petersburg affirming that the Austrian demands were "moderate and proper." (*German Documents*, No. 100.)

VON JAGOW'S ASTONISHMENT

Nevertheless, when Herr von Jagow did finally see the note, he was astonished by it and complained of it. So he says; in his memoirs (*Ursachen und Ausbruch des Weltkrieges*, p. 110) he claims to have told the Austrian Ambassador that it seemed "pretty sharp and needlessly so" (*über den Zweck hinausgehend*). But the Austrian Ambassador gives a very different account. He did not, it is true, report on this particular conversation, but he telegraphed to Berchtold on July 24: "Herr von Jagow assured me that the German Government agrees entirely with the contents of the note." (*Austrian Red Book, Diplomatische Aktenstücke zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges*, 1914, Vol. II, No. 6.) Which is to be believed? German writers have tried to impugn the reliability of Count Szögyény, the Austrian Ambassador, though not very successfully. On the other hand, Herr von Jagow was not scrupulous of the truth. On July 23 he telegraphed to the German Ambassador in London: "We are not acquainted with the Austrian demands" (*German Documents*, No. 126); and on the next day he instructed the Ambassador in Rome to inform the Italian Government that "we are not informed in detail about the Austrian note" (*German Documents*, No. 145.) In the face of such evasions, one will hardly reject the positive statement of Szögyény in favor of the Minister's version.

But there is some evidence to show that Herr von Jagow did express his private disapproval to Szögyény.* The German apologist asserts that it was too late on the evening of July 22 to influence the Austrian Government. He knew that the note would not be presented in Belgrade until 5 P. M. on the next day (*German Documents*, No. 112) and had himself advised postponement beyond that hour. Thus, at the very least, twenty-one hours were at his disposal. In an age of telegraphs and telephones, his argument seems unconvincing. Herr von Jagow made no effort to stop the note, partly because he approved of the note, at least officially, and partly because his Government had tied its hands by a "blank check."

*This is not the same as the *German Documents* referred to below; it is the English version of the proceedings of the subcommittee of the German Reichstag set up after the war to investigate the events of July, 1914. *German Documents* is the short title for *Outbreak of the World War: German Documents Collected by Karl Kautsky*.

*On July 25 he confessed privately to the British Chargé that "the note left much to be desired as a diplomatic document." (*British Documents*, Vol. XI, No. 622.)

He denies, to be sure, that a blank check, or *carte blanche*, of which more presently, was given. But he attempts also to defend himself against the criticism that he refused to express an opinion on the merits of the question, as Count Berchtold desired him to do. The German Government, he contends, could not take a position in the matter because it wished to localize the dispute, and if it had committed itself to the Austrian note, it could not mediate between Austria and Russia. Such reasoning is specious in two respects. In the first place, while the German Government refused to express an opinion on the note, it incited Austria to action. Herr von Jagow himself was "most decidedly of opinion that the action proposed against Serbia should be taken in hand without delay" (*Austrian Red Book*, Vol. I, No. 13); and this was the general attitude. Szögyény telegraphed: "Not only his Majesty the Emperor William but all the other persons in authority * * * are encouraging us emphatically not to neglect the present moment, but to proceed against Serbia in the most energetic fashion * * * to clear up our relations with Serbia in such a way as to put a stop to the Pan-Slavist agitation for all time" (*Austrian Red Book*, Vol. I, No. 15.) If space permitted, it would be easy to show that this pressure from Berlin had much to do with the success of Count Berchtold in winning over Tisza and the Emperor Francis Joseph to his plans.

Secondly, the German Government was well aware that the Austrian plan was to produce a rupture. Herr von Jagow tries to strengthen the argument that he was surprised at the note by saying that the demands mentioned by Count Berchtold on July 10 "could hardly be regarded as in themselves unjustifiable," whereas "the note itself goes much further and is more comprehensive, containing many more points than those mentioned on July 10." But he omits a vital sentence in Tschirschky's report of July 10, in which the intentions of Count Berchtold are fully revealed: "If the Serbs should accept all the demands made on them, it would prove a solution which would be 'very disagreeable' for him, and he was still considering what demands could be put that would be wholly impossible for the Serbs to accept." (*German Documents*, No. 29. Thus Herr von Jagow, when he declined to express an opinion, knew what the consequences would be, and they were soon apparent, for Tisza, in agreeing to Berchtold's note, "even introduced a sharper tone at various places." (*German Documents*, No. 50.) On July 17 the news from Vienna

was that "Berchtold hopes that the Austrian demands, about which he did not go into particulars [he was talking, not to the Ambassador, but to the Counselor of Embassy], will not be accepted by Serbia"; and not later than July 20, that "the demands are of such a nature that no nation which still possessed self-respect and dignity could possibly accept them." (*German Documents*, No. 87.) Did this prospect alarm Herr von Jagow? Did he utter a single word of caution? Not at all.

AUSTRIA'S ATTITUDE

On the contrary, the situation was regarded in Berlin with equanimity. On July 18 Dr. Zimmermann, the Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office, disclosed to the Bavarian representative in Berlin what had been learned from Vienna about the note. The Bavarian diplomatist commented:

It is perfectly plain that Serbia cannot accept any such demands, which are incompatible with her dignity as a sovereign State. Thus the result would be war. Here they are absolutely willing that Austria should take advantage of this favorable opportunity, even at the risk of further complications. * * *

What attitude the other Powers will take toward an armed conflict between Austria and Serbia will chiefly depend, according to the opinion here, on whether Austria will content herself with a chastisement of Serbia, or will demand territorial compensation for herself. In the first case, it might be possible to localize the war; in the second case, on the other hand, more serious complications would probably be inevitable. (*German Documents*, supplement IV, No. 2.)

If localization of the war was thought to depend on Austria's taking no territory from Serbia, then surely a prudent diplomacy would have asked for some assurance of disinterestedness. Yet German diplomacy acted in just the opposite sense! On July 5 Count Hoyos, Berchtold's private secretary, had stated in Berlin that "a complete partition of Serbia was under consideration" in Vienna; but both Berchtold and Tisza had asked that what Hoyos had said was "to be regarded only as his personal opinion." (*German Documents*, No. 18.) Herr von Jagow, however, made no effort to hold Berchtold and Tisza to this view; on the contrary, he complained that they "have not apparently disclosed any further their own views as to territorial plans," and in his dispatch to Tschirschky he goes on:

That the plans of the statesmen of the Danube Monarchy may be influenced and modified by the course of events is, of course, to be looked upon as self-evident; nevertheless, we must assume that the Vienna Cabinet has in mind some sort of a picture of the aims to be sought, even in the

matter of territorial acquisition. Will your Excellency kindly endeavor to get some information on this question in your talks with Count Berchtold, however, avoiding giving any impression that we are attempting to put any obstructions in the path of Austrian activities or that we are trying to prescribe certain limits or aims. But it would be useful to us to be informed to a certain extent about where the road is likely to lead us. (*German Documents*, No. 61.)

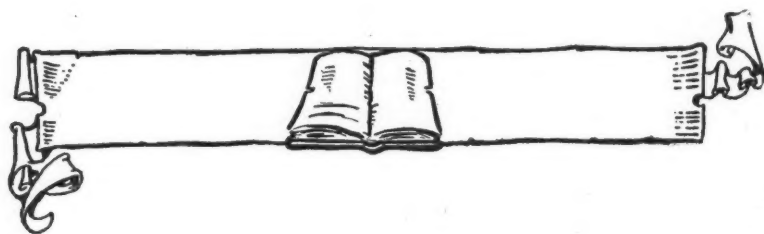
Such language can have only one meaning: that the German Government expected Austria to take territory from Serbia. The German Government was of the opinion that in such a case "serious complications would probably be inevitable." Yet it did not advise against such procedure!

GERMAN ATTITUDE CONSISTENT

The German attitude was, of course, thoroughly consistent. Germany had promised not to "interfere in the dispute" between Austria and Serbia (*German Documents*, No. 15), and she did not interfere. Herr von Jagow remarks that he cannot let pass "without qualification" the assertion that "we gave Austria *carte blanche*." The German Government, he affirms, never renounced the right to mediate between Austria and Russia, and "when Russia interfered we at once took over the rôle of mediator." But what chance was mediation likely to have if Austria, as Herr von Jagow anticipated, intended to take Serbian territory? It is no excuse to say that Austria (with many mental reservations) later issued a declaration of disinterestedness; the German Government did not expect or desire any such restraint when it sanctioned the Austrian note that precipitated the

crisis. Up to July 23, even to a much later date, Austria did enjoy *carte blanche*.

As a matter of fact that *carte blanche* has often been misunderstood. It is usually represented as the renunciation by Germany of any control over Austrian policy. It was that; but it was something more. When the Austrians appealed for German assistance in solving the Serbian question, they stated exactly what they intended to do. "The efforts of my Government," wrote Francis Joseph to William II, "must in the future be directed toward the isolation and diminution of Serbia." (*German Documents*, No. 13.) This program evoked no protest, no criticism from the German Emperor or the German Government; it was accepted by them on July 5 without hesitation. They desired, as keenly as their ally, to see Serbia "eliminated as a factor of political power in the Balkans." (*German Documents*, No. 13.) Here is the real reason why Herr von Jagow did not concern himself with the terms of the Austrian note or advise against territorial acquisition. Berlin did not care what Vienna might do; its only worry was that Vienna might not act promptly and energetically—"Berlin is beginning to get nervous" because of the delay, so Count Berchtold told the Austro-Hungarian Ministers on July 19 (*Austrian Red Book*, Vol. I, No. 26; see also *German Documents*, supplement IV, No. 2). Whether the German Government fully realized the consequences of its reckless (but deliberate) action may be debated, but its responsibility for Austria's course of action is overwhelming.



The Punitive vs. the Psychiatric Treatment of Criminals

By EBEN W. BURNSTEAD
DIRECTOR, CIVIC WELFARE ALLIANCE

FOR many years reformers have tinkered with the crime laws and radical changes have been made. Beginning with the juveniles the trend has been away from courts of justice to administrative tribunals for misdemeanants, and to early prison releases for felons through parole. More recently the psychiatrists have been added to the swelling army that surrounds the courts all seeking to get a living out of the wayward careers of criminals.

There is no question that some of these methods have their place and are helpful in our complex civilization. But on the other hand the increase of grave crimes shows that they have not had a deterring effect upon the criminal. As crime statistics of this century are studied, this being the time of trying every new thing, it is found that the growth of major felonies has occurred when the new reforms have taken place of the old methods.

Massachusetts has an advantage over many States in her crime statistics which for many years have been accurately tabulated. From them we learn that, judging by arrests for offences other than for drunkenness, there has been an enormous increase in lawbreaking of all kinds. The number arrested in 1910 was 54,011, in 1920 it was 78,466, and four years later 111,219.

To what might this increase in misdemeanors and crimes be due, if not to the changed treatment of offenders against the laws? That change was largely from punishment inside jails and prisons to supervision outside. The cases placed on probation had been multiplying from 12,152 in the year 1909 to 30,588 in 1917. There is nothing to be proud of in such a showing of lawlessness, but it should lead to carefulness in not overdoing leniency. The total number of arrests from 1912 to 1924 was over a million.

Another change was in the enactment of parole laws for the State prison inmates, which took effect about the year 1912. This brings us to crimes of greater gravity the record of which is best seen in the Grand

Jury cases. In the year 1912 the number of Grand Jury cases was 2,334. In 1914 they had increased to 2,892; in 1918, to 3,962, and two years later they reached 4,844. This, it will be seen, was an increase of over 100 per cent. in eight years' time, when the new parole system was given, more or less, a free hand.

Had population increased? Yes, 14.4 per cent.; but the crime was not due to that, for in the preceding twelve years of the twentieth century the increase in population was larger, namely 20 per cent., yet the Grand Jury cases had not increased in number. The century began with 2,350 and in 1912 the cases numbered 2,334. There was no increase in serious crimes. The good old courts were functioning to protect the community. From 1910 to 1920 the criminals were protected, and thousands of citizens suffered by their being given another chance. The main thing the criminal sees in his getting another chance is the opportunity it gives him to prey upon society.

The way back to peaceful conditions was demonstrated by the authorities of Connecticut in the hanging of Gerald Chapman; of Maryland by the quick trial and hanging of Whittemore, and of Massachusetts by execution of the three members of the Car Barn Gang for the shooting by one of them of a watchman. The effect of the latter execution and of many stiff sentences given by the courts has been to reduce banditry to only an occasional case, while before the sentence in the Car Barn cases nearly 100 robberies a week were reported.

Crime has a way of attacking unexpectedly and in ever new ways, as in the attempt to free Sacco and Vanzetti. In some places that crime might have been a *cause célèbre*, but in Massachusetts it was only an ordinary pay-roll robbery and murder. Fortunately, the Governor believed in the law that is designed to curb murderers, and does so where it is enforced, as in England. Wise handling of that long drawn out case has promoted the safety of the American people. Governor Fuller said in his decision: "I believe with the jury that these

men, Sacco and Vanzetti, were guilty and that they had a fair trial. I furthermore believe that there was no justifiable reason for giving them a new trial."

Finally the night came in which Governor Fuller carried out the mandates of the courts. It has been repeatedly said that rich men are never executed. Here were two men for whom \$300,000 was raised and expended, according to their own reports. The entire police force was mobilized. Charlestown State Prison became like an armed fortress with machine guns and searchlights on its walls. Yet even the petitions from all parts of the world and able attorneys failed. The men were executed. Their lives were taken as a great jurist said, "that other murders might not be committed." The Commonwealth in that act answered the spirit of lawlessness.

The "first offense" scheme of saving supposed novices from a prison term is another convenient way of postponing deserved punishment from youth who finally after many offences both before and after their seventeenth birthday finally fall into the police net. Out of it they emerge under the care of probation only to continue their crimes with greater cunning and skill lest they are again caught.

The card index of the Massachusetts Probation Commission reveals cases of fifty-time offenders who escaped punishment through suspended sentence or probation. Looking at the unpunished crimes of gravity on that card, I sought a reason and recalled that the world's wisest man had written: "Because sentence against an evil work is not speedily executed, therefore the hearts of the sons of men are fully set in them to do evil."

In the United States the criminal prevention machinery has been given a severe testing. Not only has probation as a substitute for imprisonment been enlarged but parole and the indeterminate sentence have become part of the judicial machinery.

The Bureau of the Census furnishes interesting evidence of the surprising fact that in the graver forms of crimes the indeterminate sentence has operated in an ever growing degree, until in 1923, of all commitments to prison, 55.4 per cent. were on the uncertain basis called indeterminate sentence.

The unfortunate results from this change in the period of punishment are that no one knows just what will be his punishment for doing certain unlawful acts. The direct result of this is that very little is left in the law to deter those who may be contem-

plating breaking some law. Where robbery is a 28-to-1 shot, and burglary a 50-to-1 shot, under our modern systems, crime is nearly as safe as any other business.

There can be no sound reason for removing from the courts the destinies of men. It is far from being merciful to place men in the power of boards of civilians when what they need is punishment that will tend to their reformation. That it is not genuinely a substitute for the burden and expense of imprisoning the criminal classes is demonstrated by the fact that recidivists or "repeaters" predominated among all who were sent to the workhouses and jails in 1923, the last year of record. This alarming increase of unreformed men coming back to the same institutions shows that the lower strata of society have not been turned away from the haunts of profligacy by the method of forgiveness without punishment.

One thing is certain, that if the public does not support its percentage of criminals inside prison they will have to support them on the outside. In other words, the plunder will have to be supplied by some one for the robbers to make away with.

The unvarnished truth is that we are turning over the system so rapidly that we scarcely know where anything fits. The arguments used before legislative committees for changes in laws would not do justice to the intelligence of a Sunday school class. Yet Legislatures have passed fool laws that create criminals. They have added an army of new officials to the business of warring on crime and the expenses have increased with more and new schemes. The latest are the psychiatrists and social workers and behaviorist case workers. Just where the authority of the psychiatrist is to begin and where the Judge and Prosecuting Attorney are to surrender to him is the next problem to be solved.

The old prison remains useful notwithstanding the substitutes of schemes to classify and segregate, to parole and reform outside, to place on probation rather than imprison and to treat crime as a disease, that must be cured, but not punished. What is to be the end?

Chief Justice William Howard Taft put the matter in a nutshell at the National Crime Commission's conference in Washington on Nov. 3 when he said: "We must not allow our interest in criminals to go to the point of making effective prosecution of crime and its punishment subordinate to schemes for reform of criminals, however admirable they may be."

BOSTON, MASS.

Locating the Nerve Centre Of Emotion

SINCE our emotions so often control us, it is logical that we should desire to know more about them. Feelings and emotions are of great concern from a scientific standpoint, and they form one of the most fertile fields of research for the psychologist and his next-door neighbor, the physiologist. The recent dedication of the psychological laboratory of Wittenberg College brought together the latest opinions and facts on feelings and emotions presented by a group of the leading psychologists. Of fundamental importance were the results reported by Dr. Walter B. Cannon, the famous Harvard physiologist, who described how Dr. Philip Bard of his staff has determined the location of the nerve centre which controls our emotions. The physiological reason why feelings and emotions often seem to be the manifestations of a stranger within ourselves is given by the discovery of the location of the seat of the emotions.

In his series of experiments Dr. Bard removed different parts of the brains of animals and then observed their ability to express rage. When he removed all the cerebrum and other matter down to a part of the lower brain known as the diencephalon, the animal continued to show signs of anger when aroused. But when the lower part of this section was removed emotional activity was abolished. The dominating centre of rage and other emotions is very small. It is in the optic thalamus, in the old primitive part of the brain, which is common to all vertebrates from fishes to man. So-called "frog babies," anencephalic infants born practically without any brain, still have the ability to whimper and draw down the corners of the mouth as if in distress at unpleasant stimulation. These emotional acts are performed without direction from the brain, just like sneezing or sucking or swallowing. The higher thought centres of the brain tend to repress the primitive activities of the emotional centre. If this higher government is set aside the subordinate emotional activities become prominent on slight stimulation. We sometimes laugh, weep or rage "uncontrollably." We feel as if "possessed." What we do in the stress of

excitement is "surprising," "shocking," something "surges up within us," and our actions seem no longer our own. These common bywords Dr. Bard explained by the fact that the body is suddenly and powerfully dominated by the nerves of the lower brain below the level of consciousness.

We do not run away from a bear because we are afraid; we are afraid because we run. This theory, which caused a sensation in scientific circles when the psychologist William James advanced it some forty years ago, and which has since become old-fashioned, was dusted off and brought out with improvements by Professor E. Claparede of the University of Geneva in a communication to the conference on emotions. In supporting James he contends that it is not the sight of the bear, but the process of getting ready to run that warns us that we are in danger. The feeling of danger is useful because it urges the man to seek safety. If he can run fast enough he proceeds to escape without any emotion at all. But if he lacks faith in his legs his body is thrown into a state of excitement as he tries to run, and he is made conscious that he is gripped by fear. "Feelings are useful in our conduct, while the emotions serve no purpose," Professor Claparede wrote. "The uselessness, or even the nuisance, of the emotion is known to every one. Here is an individual who would cross the street. If he is afraid of automobiles he loses his composure and is run over. Sorrow, joy, anger, by enfeebling attention or judgment, often make us commit regrettable acts. In brief, the individual in the grip of an emotion loses his head."

From the lowly crab Professor Henri Pieron of Paris drew for the symposium another example of the power of emotions. A crab fettered by one claw and left with food just out of reach will resignedly starve to death. But put a polyp, the crab's most deadly enemy, near by, and the prisoner crab will be convulsed with fear. Excitement racing through its nerves will send a violent shock to the tied claw and the claw will come off, so that the crab can scuttle off to safety. From the amoeba, one of the simplest, tiniest forms of animal life,

up to man, the French psychologist holds, action is always guided by feelings. Even purely mental action in man, which we call thought, is regulated by his state of feeling. If the feelings become sufficiently intense, so that there is an abnormal discharge of nervous energy, the emotional stage is reached. In emergencies this nervous energy gives the animal or man greater power to fight or flee. But the after-effect is nervous exhaustion and temporary disorganization of the machinery of the body. In a man, if he is highly emotional and if he is not well balanced, the emergency reserve of energy may be a source of real danger, Professor Pieron concluded, "like large ponds, established along a water course, which accumulate the available energy and may cause disastrous inundations if the barriers begin to give way before a sudden onslaught." In the animal world, as among men, emotions sometimes lead to useless outbursts of activity, he declared, saying: "An ant, coming upon a spot of soil near its nest which has been saturated with the odor of foreign ants, sometimes begins to strike the ground violently with its mandibles, instead of being content to flee or to explore carefully the neighborhood of the suspicious place."

ADOLESCENT LOVE

While true mature love is one of the most intense and far-reaching of the human emotions, the puppy love of youth is often not serious and may never leave an imprint on the individual's character. The boy of 14 who falls in love and goes through an intense experience of adoration for some distant and never-to-be-won maiden is a familiar but much misunderstood figure. Why his first love affair can be so intense and yet play so slight a part in the sum total of his experiences was explained by Professor Wilhelm Stern of the University of Hamburg, the well-known German specialist in child psychology. The fact that the boy's love affair does not go further than adoration from a distance and that he clings to ideal romance by not permitting himself to make advances to the object of his affections shows that the feeling is not very firmly rooted in the young person, Professor Stern showed. The experience is only semi-serious and may dwindle away after a brief time as if it never existed. Play belongs to the upper, lighter layers of an individual's personality. Between utterly superficial play activities and deeply serious vital activities there are many grades of semi-seriousness. "To be always serious would reduce a man to the life-

lessness of a lofty monument," was one of Professor Stern's epigrams. When a man "never grows up," in the sense that he continues to let the play spirit dominate his behavior and acts without due consideration for the future or without accepting responsibility, he becomes the Don Quixote or Peer Gynt type.

ORIGIN OF CLOTHES

There are various theories about the reason why the human animal took to clothes. Some think that modesty caused the covering of the body; others believe in the immodesty theory and contend that some woman, Eve perhaps, donned raiment in order to make her body more mysterious and alluring. Another school holds that clothes are worn as decoration and adornment, just as a savage or a society matron wears a string of beads. Now a psychologist, Dr. Knight Dunlap, of Johns Hopkins University, has presented for consideration a new theory of the origin of clothes. And, untrue to his particular branch of science, he assigns an entomological reason. The first clothes were simply flychasers. Primitive man and his wife first took to wearing clothes in order to keep off stinging flies, sharp-billed mosquitoes, cooties, fleas and other lively pests. Skins or cloth might be wrapped tight around the body for protection against stings and bites, but this is confining and in warm climates impossible. "Much more efficient protection is afforded by hanging strings, leaves, strips of hide, animals' tails and similar articles, so that they will flap with the movements of the wearer," Dr. Dunlap says. "In other words, the best flychasers are exactly the garments most characteristic of savages and primitive man. These afford protection without undue warmth or exclusion of ventilation. The fly protections we have customarily used on our domestic animals are exactly of the types of primitive human clothing which have baffled the early anthropologists." Ornaments such as nose rings, leg bands of fur, peculiar haircuts and designs tattooed in the skin were originally badges of identity, Dr. Dunlap concludes.

NATIONAL ACADEMY MEETING

Whenever the National Academy of Sciences holds a meeting some important announcements are sure to be made. This Fall the academicians visited the University of Illinois. During the sessions Dr. W. V. Howard of the University of Illinois read a paper that may contain the secret of why the earth, ever restless, unquiet and wasteful of heat, is able to keep itself warm.

The heat of the earth as used in mountain building, the melting of rocks into lava and that which is radiated into space, may come from the evolution or transmutation of one element into another. Dr. Howard's studies have been concerned with the odd-numbered elements; that is, the elements that have odd numbers when arranged in the orders of their weights, beginning with hydrogen, the lightest, as number one. This number of an element is called its atomic number. Many elements consist of mixtures of what the chemist calls isotopes. The isotopes of a given element are all the same element, but their atoms have slightly different weights. Dr. Howard has worked out a series of rules by which the isotopes of elements that have not yet been successfully divided may be predicted. These relationships, together with his experimental results, lead Dr. Howard to think that the odd-numbered elements may have actually been formed from the lightest isotopes of the even-numbered elements. According to modern ideas of the structures of the atoms of matter, this could be accomplished by the loss from the first element of a proton to form an atom of hydrogen, while the atom remaining would be that of an odd-numbered element. As the process would be accompanied by the liberation of heat, Dr. Howard thinks that this is sufficient to account for much of the earth's heat.

Another report before the meeting of the National Academy of Sciences at the University of Illinois indicated that the "quantum," the supposedly smallest possible unit of light, can now be divided. This result of experiments by Dr. A. J. Dempster of the University of Chicago is somewhat reminiscent of the "indivisible atom" of former years that now has been split up into a miniature solar system with a nuclear sun and electron planets circling in orbits. In the experiments he obtained light from a single vibrating atom, instead of many, as in the ordinary light source. But, though the light is supposed to consist of single quanta, it behaved just as does ordinary light. When allowed to fall on a lightly silvered mirror part of the light was reflected and part passed through. When this was recombined the same patterns of light and dark bands were produced as would come from ordinary light.

DANGERS OF RACE MIXTURE

Fast modern transportation, that has carried civilized peoples into the remote corners of the earth, is bringing about problems of race mixture such as have never existed before in the history of man-

kind. The potential dangers of European stock settling among primitive races were explained by Dr. Charles B. Davenport of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, at the International Congress of Anthropologists at Amsterdam. It is not strange that statesmen, biologists and eugenists are asking what the consequences of such race crossing is likely to be. The question is raised whether it should be welcomed as tending to produce higher types, or whether steps should be taken to prevent immigration to any country as a menace to its culture. Each race that has persisted a long time in a distinct environment has certain adaptations to that environment, Dr. Davenport has found. In the mixture of races now taking place there are combinations of conditions which sometimes lead to disharmony from the conflict of developmental tendencies.

"In America we have a union of races, characterized by large teeth in large jaws, with others having small teeth in small jaws," he said. "It has been suggested by orthodontists (specialists who correct irregular teeth) that a combination of an hereditary tendency to large teeth, combined with hereditary small jaws produces the crowding of teeth which has made orthodontia so important a branch of medicine in the United States. Such crowded jaws are in striking contrast with the uniform dental arcades that one sees in comparatively unmixed, primitive peoples.

"Mental and temperamental incompatibilities may also arise, as we see in the mulattoes of North America who combine something of a white man's intelligence and ambition with an insufficient intelligence to realize that ambition. This leads in the hybrid to dissatisfaction and a feeling that he is not getting a fair deal."

The mixed progeny of the Chinese and the Hawaiians in the Hawaiian Islands stand first among all hybrids in industry and self-support, in Dr. Davenport's estimation. They have the intelligence of the Chinese with the well-stabilized, docile and patient temperament of the Polynesian. Another comparatively successful cross is among the Dutch settlers and the natives of Java and Sumatra. These hybrids are often possessed of great physical beauty and high intelligence.

PSYCHOLOGY TESTS FOR TEACHERS

The psychologist during the past two decades has been attempting to provide more successful means of telling the worth and potentialities of individuals than the old-fashioned method of the survival of the

fittest. Tests have been devised that allow the prediction of whether or not a person would succeed in a certain kind of work or in a certain line of study. Now the teacher is being given such an examination. The test, which aims to show prospective young school teachers whether or not they are really likely to make good in the classroom, was constructed by Professor F. A. Moss, T. Hunt and F. C. Wallace of the psychological department at George Washington University. It measures an individual's judgment in teaching situations by such problems as the following:

"During the class period while you are explaining a lesson to a fifth grade, a circus parade passes your windows. You should: A. Allow the children to go to the windows. B. Continue the class work ignoring the parade. C. Reprimand the children for their restlessness. D. Have the children stand and go through setting-up exercises."

The prospective teacher's ideas and information about modern education are further probed by a long list of "True or False?" statements such as:

"A class tends to reflect the attitudes of the teacher," and "Supervised play on the playground is bad because it kills the initiative of the child."

As another gauge of teaching aptitude, the student who is thinking of a school teacher's career is quizzed on her (or his) keenness to understand mental states of other people by observing their facial expressions.

The use of such tests as these may prevent many heartbreaks, for there are now too many students in medical schools, normal schools or other specialized institutions who complete their work as far as their senior year and are then told that they have failed to show promise of developing into the desired professional type. If a psychological test could have told the students of their unfitness for the profession that they have chosen, a great economic waste might have been prevented, for they could have entered a profession for which they were better fitted.

NEW ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS

Defense from the ground against attack from the air, recognized since the war as one of the most difficult of military problems, has made great strides forward during recent months. New weapons and fire-

control instruments developed by the Ordnance Corps of the army and now undergoing tests at the proving grounds at Aberdeen, Md., go far toward taking the soldier on foot out of the class of a mere helpless target for bombs and "strafing" machine-gun fire from planes, to which he has been assigned by popular conception. The most striking of the new means of defense is not in itself a new weapon, but a means of making more effective use of already existing weapons. This is the new electrical fire-control instrument for anti-aircraft guns, which enables the commander of a battery to sight all four of his guns simultaneously and also to set the fuses for all the shells. These important details have hitherto been attended to separately for each gun, with the result that errors both in direction of fire and in position of the shell at the moment it bursts have crept in, seriously lowering the effectiveness of the fire. The new system makes it possible for a battery of four 3-inch guns to deliver a 15-pound shell every half second, to a height of 10,000 yards, with a horizontal range of 15,000 yards. The same control system has been applied to the new 105-millimeter, or 4.1-inch, guns, which fire only half as fast, but throw a shell more than twice as heavy to a height of 12,000 yards and an extreme horizontal range of 19,000 yards.

These two weapons commonly use shrapnel, which is timed to burst short of the target and throw toward it a shower of hardened lead alloy balls, shotgun fashion. A smaller caliber gun, however, is designed to attack planes with a high-explosive shell that bursts on contact with even so slight an obstacle as the fabric of wing or fuselage. This is the 37-millimeter automatic, which throws a missile weighing about one pound. The piece is built like a machine gun and barks once every second, so that a battery of four would send up a hail of 240 highly destructive shells in a minute. The new centralized fire-control system can be applied to this gun as well, though this has not yet been done. A third promising weapon is the new .50-caliber Browning machine gun, which throws a cigar-shaped bullet half an inch in diameter and weighing about two ounces. A newly developed mount permits four of these guns to be trained on a single pivot. Since each gun can deliver over 300 shots per minute, this arrangement places a stream of 20 missiles per second under the control of one gunner.



The Month's "Crises"

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PROFESSOR EMERITUS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; CHAIRMAN BOARD OF CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES

IS it because of the diligence of the modern daily papers or is because the American people are living faster and furnishing more copy that it is difficult to choose the most striking occurrences of the past four weeks? It has been a season of storms in the heavens and tempests in political circles. No day without its calling off of an adventurous aero trip to Europe; no hour without its frightful automobile catastrophe. During the last thirty days fifteen different candidates have been nominated for the Presidency by local groups of politicians, and a hundred football teams have fought gallantly but vainly against overwhelming odds.

The public mind naturally turns toward the amazing revelation in the trials of the Fall-Sinclair group of self-benefactors. Unsavory stories have been told about Cabinet officials in several Administrations. Grant's Secretary of War, Belknap, resigned to avoid impeachment, which would have simply confirmed the overwhelming belief that he sold privileges in his department for cash. Fall and Daugherty resigned, which prevents any later impeachment proceedings; nevertheless a former member of a President's Cabinet has been on trial for defrauding the Government by receiving heavy cash bribes for a contract favorable to the bribers. The public seems to have lost sight of the fact that this whole proceeding began with a public statement by Doheny that he had paid \$100,000 to Fall. Without that beginning, very likely sufficient evidence could never have been accumulated. A prominent Washington man, intimate friend of the then President, declared under oath that he had lent the \$100,000 to Fall, and subsequently declared that he had advanced him no funds. Just why Doheny "told" and why he ceased to tell are two unsolved mysteries.

The lower courts and the Supreme Court of the United States have held the parties of the main question irrevocably to the issue, till it was shown to the satisfaction of the courts that millions of Government property had, through the instrumentality of Government officials, been fraudulently turned over to immensely wealthy oil firms, who must disgorge the stolen property. The

parallel criminal suit against Fall and others has come to a tragic end by a discontinuance, for the time being, in view of the surveillance exercised over all members of the jury by detectives employed by the defendants.

Examination of the jury lists, before a jury is chosen, in order to find out what kind of men and women the possible jurors are, is a practice sometimes used by Government prosecutors, the purpose being to use the challenge against people whose previous history or personal relations suggested that they had a prejudice against one side or the other. Protection of a jury by officers of the law while the case is pending is legal and necessary, but nobody can believe that money is spent like water by defendants in gaining knowledge of the private affairs of the jurors and their relatives and connections without the hope of somehow bringing pressure to bear on the jury. Of what significance is it to defendants in such a trial as that of Fall and Sinclair to find out whether or no a juror has a mortgage on his property, unless they hope before the end of the trial to take some steps to remove that incumbrance? The court did the only thing possible under the circumstances in declaring a mistrial.

Here comes in one of the weaknesses of the jury system. It is reasonable that jurors should be sought who have not formed or expressed a definite opinion upon the guilt or innocence of persons for the trial of whose cases they may be selected. It is preposterous that in these days of newspapers, of which about one copy is issued daily for every five of the total population, jurors should be shut out because they have read the papers; and, if what the papers said was true, might condemn the accused. Such immense issues in money and immensely greater issues in public morale ought not to be committed to the judgment of people who, on their own statement, read no newspapers, and hence know little or nothing of the most important events that are going on.

When it comes to a controversy with an immensely wealthy man, as in the Fall-Sinclair suit, there is very little restraint through "gentlemen's agreements." Un-



FEE FO FUM!

"Big Bill" Thompson, the Mayor of Chicago, who has begun a campaign against what he calls "English propaganda" in America: "Even though he's an American citizen, let me have a swipe at him. He speaks English."

—Glasgow (Scotland) Evening Times

willingness of a big creature to kill off little creatures who stand between him and a coveted object is not to be presumed. The direct protection for the little man, and even for whole populations of men who are little in comparison with the big man, is the association of the citizens of the Republic through our system of public courts. Nothing holds in check a certain type of big scale capitalist except the danger of losing part of what he claims as his property, and the very remote possibility of spending a short time in jail as a prize prisoner. The Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, as measured by billion-dollar tests, is only a Jack and the beanstalk; but Jack stuck to it till the Giant crashed!

In another part of the country another Giant at present seems to dominate the second city in the Union. The American people likes a lively game, and is perhaps not sufficiently insistent on playing according to the rules and not slugging in the line. In Chicago, as in most cities throughout the

country, the school government is not a part of the regular City Government. The School Board decides on educational questions subject to the general laws of the State, employs the teachers and other officers of the school, and fixes the total amount to be spent and levies taxes accordingly. So with public libraries. In most places they are under the control of a board not appointed by the political City Government. Almost invariably they choose the Superintendent or other executive head of the library system. In Chicago, however, the Mayor has such appointing and removing powers over the school and library boards that he can reconstitute them to suit himself. That is what Mayor Thompson has done, with the result that the School Board is now holding an inquisition on Superintendent McAndrew, who has a high reputation as an upright executive, and also on the Library Board which elects a Librarian and lays down the policy of that world famous institution, the Chicago Public Library.

The School Board (in evident telephonic connection with the City Hall) charges Superintendent McAndrew with deliberately forcing unpatriotic textbooks upon the schools of Chicago. Hence, away with him!



—AND ANOTHER REDCOAT BITES THE DUST!

—The Baltimore Sun

For this frightful breach of duty the only reason that the Chicago School Board can imagine is corruption by British gold, whether sovereigns or guineas is not specified. The Public Library is made *particeps criminis* by placing on its shelf school books and other books which criticise some of the men of the Revolution. Hence, away with the books! One "Sport" Herrmann is the Grand Inquisitor and follows out his character by violent threats of burning the traitorous books on the lake shore, evidently a suggestion that the crime is so flagrant that all Lake Michigan could not extinguish it. A party of the third part is the American Library Association, whose offense is that it has printed and circulated a book that speaks well of some books that do not mention George Washington. When it comes to the punishment of the American Library Association, and the hundreds of libraries that constitute it, the Chicago inquisitional machinery is broken down. The real object of the crusade is not to dissolve the American Library Association, nor to tear down the Public Library, nor to turn the schools into "America First" clubs, but to denounce and assail and, so far as circumstances permit, to hang, draw and quarter Mr. McAndrew. And since the machinery for this process appears legally to



MAKING A MONKEY OF HER

—The Philadelphia Inquirer

rest in the power of one unified "Big Bill," everything seems to point toward Chicago's paying the bill as it presents itself.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

France's Efforts to Prop Up the Versailles Treaty

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

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QUITE certainly it was not by accident that the spectacular visit of the Italian squadron to Tangier was followed by the announcement in Paris on Nov. 11 that the French and Yugoslav Governments had signed a new treaty of friendship and mutual defense. It was a gesture, quite within the limits of courtesy, by which Italy was warned that the precedent set by Wilhelm II, on his famous visit to Tangier in 1905, was an unsafe one to follow. The Mediterranean and North Africa represent inevitably a conflict of interest between the two nations. If Italy is to attain her ends, it can be only by the permission, whether willingly or unwillingly given, of France; and this is no time for Mussolini to overplay his hand.

The series of treaties, concluded by this with Yugoslavia, while it has had as its major object the maintenance of the status quo and the encirclement of Germany, has had an incidental result in the isolation of Italy. The Italian Government has, it is true, by the Treaty of Tirana, assumed what amounts to a protectorate over Albania; but in doing so, it has furnished to the warring elements in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes an issue on which they can unite. It has engagements with the Hungarian Government, purchased by the concessions at Fiume; but their value to Italy are problematical. Her treaty with Rumania, signed in September, 1926, provides for nothing more than that the two nations will consider measures to be

taken in common to safeguard their common interests; and to lend political and diplomatic support in case the interests of either are menaced by violent incursions from without. Aside from the article on arbitration which it contains, there is little in it that amplifies their normal diplomatic relations.

Contrast this with the French Treaty with Czechoslovakia, signed in 1924, in which the two nations undertake to concert their action in matters of foreign policy which may threaten their security or which may tend to subvert the situation created by the treaties of peace; to agree together as to measures to be adopted to safeguard their common interests; to consult together in case there shall be danger of the infraction of the principles laid down in Article 88 of the Treaty of St. Germain, in the event that their interests are threatened by the failure of the Hungarian Government to observe its obligations; and to take common action should Germany attempt to restore the Hohenzollern dynasty. The treaty closes with a provision for the arbitration of differences quite as unrestricted in scope as that included in the Locarno treaty of 1925. In this latter treaty, the two nations agree to lend immediate aid and assistance in case Germany fails to observe its Locarno obligations, if such a failure is accompanied by an unprovoked recourse to arms. With differences, of course, in detail, the engagements of France with Belgium and with Poland are equally strong and inclusive. The Rumanian treaty of June 10, 1926, is an agreement not to have recourse to war except in self-defense, in case the treaty is violated or in response to a decision of the League; and to resolve by pacific means "all questions of whatever nature." Except in the case of the Albanian treaty, Italy has no relations with any neighbor so firmly established as these.

Now comes the treaty between France and Yugoslavia, by the terms of which these two nations engage themselves—first, not to make war on each other, with the exception noted of their duties as members of the League of Nations; second, to examine together all questions threatening their security or disturbing the status quo as fixed by the peace treaties; third, in case of attack against either of them, to act conjointly to safeguard their interests; fourth, to work together for the solution of all European problems. The treaty is to operate for ten years. A separate act provides for the arbitration of all issues



PUTTING WAR IN ITS PROPER PLACE

The Old Lady: "You know perfectly well that is not allowed. We have banned all wars of aggression."

Mars: "But this is a war of defense. I feel convinced he was thinking of attacking me."

—Glasgow (Scotland) Bulletin

arising between the two countries and not settled by ordinary diplomatic methods.

Although both France and Yugoslavia declared that the treaty does not constitute an alliance in the old sense of the word, and that the treaty is directed against no third Power, France makes no secret of the fact that her design, in negotiating the series of treaties, of which this is the latest, is to maintain the European system which was constructed at Versailles. André Géraud, in an article printed in *Foreign Affairs* a year ago, states it clearly: "The principal aims we must have in view are the consolidation of the little States which were created or enlarged at the end of the war. * * * We must strive for the evolution of a European continent where the designs and achievements of Pan-Germanism have no place." He recognizes fully, however, that the hold of Germany on Austria and on the minorities in several other States is very strong, and admits pessimistically that "the survival of the national States set on their legs by the 1919 treaties is a very doubtful proposition."

What the French seem incapable of re-

alizing is that the world at large is no more inclined to trust or to favor a European hegemony seated at Paris than it did another ruled from Berlin. They deny vigorously, of course, all imperialistic aims, and they resent any imputation of them. In a sense they are justified. No Frenchman of consequence dreams of the incorporation of any of the small nations within a re-established Napoleonic empire. Yet the French do hope to establish and to maintain a degree of influence among the European States large enough for them to be the controlling force in European politics. The reasons for this are evident. On one side lies their old enemy Germany, fifty per cent. greater in population and much more capable economically and industrially. To the south there is Italy, teeming with population, and suffering at present from a violent attack of megalomania. Mussolini joins with the Roman Catholic Church in condemning any restriction of population and frowning on emigration. He seems deliberately to be planning to create such a pressure of population as will compel Italy either to starve or to expand; and expansion must be, so far as any one can see, at the expense of France. Already the Southeastern departments of France have a large Italian population, and, in Tripoli, their number exceeds that of the French.

They are looking longingly toward Syria, and on the road they have already gained control of Rhodes and the Dodecanese.

France is afraid of the future, and rightly so. Her safety is based either on her ability to maintain the fabric of the Treaty of Versailles or to control such a number of votes in the League of Nations as will insure her against hostile combinations. For the moment, at least, she seems to have accomplished her purpose. She cannot, however, reckon without Great Britain. That nation is no more willing to allow the control of Europe to pass into the hands of France today than it was in the days of Napoleon. Its commercial interests, its political interests, for that matter, are normally quite as close with Germany as with France. While the Entente is, and is likely to continue to be, of great value to her, she cannot afford—nor does she desire—to stand aloof from the Powers which are outside the circle of French influence. Great Britain is, unfortunately, in a dilemma, which she is attempting to resolve by mounting both horns. She is trying both to be European and to be Imperial. She could join the European concert much more effectively if her children did not insist continually in singing out of tune. The Dominions are as little anxious as are we to commit themselves unreservedly to the maintenance of the European status quo; and they interpose a quiet veto whenever it is proposed that the Empire shall assume a European obligation. Locarno was as far as they will go. In the days that are gone, Great Britain could act and be assured of their support; but they now demand a voice in the determination of policies and their interests are frequently not those of the Mother Country.

Then there is Germany. So long as Stresemann's influence is dominant and so long as Briand or his policies rule the Quai d'Orsay, there is little danger of an explosion; but the Germans have not forgiven the terms of the peace and they have bitter memories of the tragedy of the Ruhr. The continuing military occupation of the Rhineland rankles like an open wound in the side, and they have little confidence that the French will, without a struggle, loose their hold on the Sarre. They charge the allied nations with breaking faith with them in regard to disarmament, and they never for a moment forget the lost colonies. They can afford to wait, and they are willing to do so; but, meanwhile, in the economic and industrial sphere, their influence is gaining



GRANDMA-MARS' MEDICINE

"Out of every twenty shillings of taxation the British people pay, fourteen shillings is due to past wars or the preparation for future wars."

—Viscount Cecil of Chelwood.

—Glasgow (Scotland) Record

ground, and all the treaties that France may negotiate will not stay the tide.

A few hundred miles away lies Russia, prodigious and incalculable. As the crow flies, Moscow is only as far from Paris as St. Louis is from New York, but spiritually it is at the antipodes. It cannot be ignored, nor can it be controlled by the thumbing of noses or the shouting of unpleasant epithets. While the danger of the extension of the Communist system, so far as it ever existed, is pretty well over, the power is there and it cannot fail to influence the future. The sphere of influence of France, sharing as it does so long a boundary, cannot escape being affected by it.

The best argument for the acceptance of the Versailles treaty was that it supplied some sort of a platform on which Europe could stand while she bound up her wounds and attempted to re-establish herself. As time goes on, the insecurity of the foundations and the weakness of the structure become more and more evident. It is gradually being rebuilt, and it stands today because, outside of Russia, every one is interested in propping it up. If it should fall, the consequences are not pleasant to contemplate. The French treaties are doing something to prevent its decay; but, meanwhile, the carpenters and the masons are still at work.

The League of Nations Month by Month

By ARTHUR SWEETSER

FORMALLY October is a quiet month for the League of Nations, devoted to detailed execution of the Assembly decisions and recuperation from its severe strain. To begin with, the delegations which have been in Geneva, many of them for five weeks, scatter to their different countries to resume their work at home, some, as in Switzerland and Scandinavia, to prepare formal public documents on the Assembly and others to prepare speeches for parliamentary discussion, in order that, as far as possible, the results at Geneva may be assimilated into the national consciousness. Similarly the central services of the League are burdened with the intricate cleaning-up work which necessarily remains after a month's world conference covering practically every field of international life. Those services are faced not only with completing the minutes and records, but with sending out hundreds of letters and documents, whether universally to all States or individually to different Governments, organizations or individuals.

This Fall, however, as during the Summer, the League's greatly accumulating work made it unavoidable for a series of conferences and committees to encroach even upon this limited period. For instance, there was one large plenipotentiary conference of thirty-three States, including the United States, on Import and Export Restrictions; several other Economic Committees on Counterfeiting Currency, Tariff Nomenclature, Inland Navigation, Maritime

Tonnage and the Austrian Loan; the conclusion of an extraordinary session on Opium; and the beginning of regular sessions of the Mandates and Health Committees. In other words, hardly had the President's gavel fallen at the Assembly than the coming year's work was in full swing.

Import and Export Restrictions—Most important of the meetings held was the International Diplomatic Conference on Import and Export Restrictions, which, in opening a convention for signature and ratification, marked a turning point in years of effort to do away with this war difficulty. The question was raised at the Brussels Conference in 1920, carried on through the Porto Rosa, the Genoa and the Geneva Conferences; discussed by various committees and organizations, such as the International Chamber of Commerce, and finally reduced to a draft form which in turn went the rounds of the Governments and various industrial and commercial circles. These restrictions were found to be due to destruction of economic equilibrium, need of indispensable raw material, protection of national defense industries, struggles against the rise in prices and wages and defense of the trade balance and exchanges. Experience had shown, however, that their advantages by no means offset their drawbacks. Yet where at the outset the conference was felt not to be difficult, it shortly developed that no more fundamental problems exist than those arising from relations of the great economic unities

one with another. The States were forced to recognize, therefore, that individual sacrifices were necessary in order that the general diminution of these restrictions by mass action might give each member of the international community more than it had lost. Even at that, however, complete, immediate agreement was not possible in some specific cases, and it was decided that, while the conventions marked a great forward step, the work of the conference should not be considered as finished.

Counterfeiting of Currency—Another interesting economic question came a step nearer solution when a Mixed Committee of Secret Service and Treasury officials completed a Draft Convention for international action against the counterfeiting of currency. This draft, to be submitted to the Council of the League in view of a plenipotentiary international conference to adopt a final convention, aims to clarify the definition of counterfeiting, to fill any gaps in domestic legislation which permit a criminal to escape punishment and to quicken police action by better organization within States, by periodical conferences between police and banks of issue and by the creation of an International Central Information Office.

Customs Nomenclature—Another step toward the execution of the decisions of the Economic Conference was taken in a meeting for the unification of customs nomenclature in order to reduce the purely formal and administrative difficulties which now harass international trade. This committee, consisting of customs experts, had drawn up last August the principles of a general plan covering all classes of goods on which the new nomenclature should be based. At this session it studied what effects the application of these principles would have on certain specific and highly developed tariffs, to which they had, in test, been applied. Similarly, two other committees met to discuss, in one case the unification of statistics in inland navigation, and in the other the unification of tonnage in maritime navigation, both of which are of considerable importance in quickening and improving international trade and communications.

Drug Traffic—The Committee on Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs concluded, on Oct. 8, the Extraordinary Session summoned to consider Italian proposals for, first, the investigation of the causes of drug smuggling and of penalties and other measures to prevent it, and, second, for limiting the quantities of drugs manufactured to the

amounts required for strictly medical and scientific purposes. Drastic action was urged not only because the campaign against smuggling had not been so successful as anticipated, but also to provide Governments with specific suggestions for applying The Hague and Geneva Conventions. The committee accepted the proposal and entrusted its intricate details to a sub-committee. In addition, advantage was taken of the meeting to discuss other phases of the drug problem. Colonel Arthur Woods of New York proposed a resolution which was unanimously adopted for either Government control or Government ownership of drug factories and the rationing of their output to strictly medical and scientific requirements. The German delegate proposed the formation of an international syndicate of drug manufacturers. Finally, eighty-three reports of seizures in different parts of the world were examined in detail; the general adoption of the maritime insurance clause was found to be helpful in impeding illicit dispatch by sea, and the exchange of information between Governments, the development of control and the extension of the import and export certificate system were found to be encouraging.

Mandates Commission—Let us turn now to the field of mandates, under which the administration of some 20,000,000 people is entrusted to the general oversight of the League. The Permanent Mandates Commission began its twelfth session during the month, for the first time with a German member. This commission, which meets for a period of two or three weeks twice a year, has had since its beginning a practically permanent personnel of Colonial experts free from the inevitable restrictions of actual Government office. Now that Germany is a member of the League, the Council has added a former German Colonial expert to this commission, which at this session examined, in the presence of duly accredited representatives of the Mandatory Powers, the annual reports of the British Mandates for Iraq, the Cameroons and Togoland, the Belgian Mandate for Ruanda-Urundi, the New Zealand Mandate for Samoa, where political troubles have recently been reported, and the Japanese Mandate for the Pacific Isles. Several other questions also figured, as the procedure concerning petitions, certain specific petitions concerning the natives of the Adjigo tribe in French Togoland and the Rehoboth community in Southwest Africa, and problems of ex-enemy property and the liquor traffic.

Health Committee Meeting—Toward the end of the month began the semi-annual Health Committee meeting with problems covering every part of the globe and many kinds of disease. The Malaria Committee, which has carried out important investigations in many different countries, and just recently in the Mississippi Basin, met on Oct. 26 to take note of progress made. Similarly, a group of expert statisticians from different countries came together to discuss the even wider extension of the Epidemiological Intelligence Service at Geneva, particularly in connection with an Australian proposal to enlarge the wireless code now distributing information from the Eastern Bureau at Singapore to the rest of the world. The full Health Committee, in addition to its ordinary work, had before it the very important question of the extension of the technical health cooperation with Latin America, which had been recommended by the first League Commission sent to that continent and subsequently approved by the Assembly and the Council of the League.

Other Activities—To conclude the meetings, a Committee of Experts on the Educational Rôle of Museums met in Paris on Oct. 28, and the French Foreign Office announced the constitution at the Bibliothèque

Nationale of a special library on League affairs. Many treaties were registered during the month, including ten by Great Britain, conciliation conventions between Denmark and Belgium and Sweden and Belgium and various ratifications, such as by Nicaragua and Portugal of the Slavery Convention. Finally, a new case was brought before the League when Lithuania appealed to the Council under Article XI of the Covenant for alleged persecution by Poland of Lithuanians in the Vilna region. The subject will be discussed at the December session.

American Participation—As usual, the United States cooperated in a number of League activities in October. The Government was formally represented at the Import and Export Restrictions Conference by a delegation headed by Hugh R. Wilson, the American Minister in Switzerland and including experts from the State, Commerce and Treasury Departments. The Shipping Board was represented at the Conference on Maritime Tonnage Measurements by Carogivno Skentelbery; Dr. Taliaferro Clark of the United States Public Health Service was present at the Health Committee meeting, and Colonel Arthur Woods at the Drugs Committee.

GENEVA, October 27.

THE UNITED STATES

New Candidates for the Presidency

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

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IN spite of President Coolidge's announcement that he did not "choose" to run for the Presidency in 1928, the insistence of some of his supporters that he was the preferred choice of the Republicans, and that he would probably not refuse to run if he were unanimously renominated, has kept the question of his candidacy before the country and induced many expressions of a desire for a clearer statement of his intentions. One of his closest political friends, Senator Simeon D. Fess of Ohio, predicted on Oct. 15, in an interview at New York, that the Republican convention would not be able to choose among other candidates on the first ballot, that "then the delegation from some State

—and it may be Ohio—will cast its vote solidly for President Coolidge," and that he "will then be renominated virtually by acclamation." "President Coolidge knows this," Senator Fess continued, "and he is not going to let the convention nominate him and then decline the nomination. I consider it virtually certain that he will be renominated, unless he should make it clear in advance that he would not consent."

For this bold prediction Senator Fess was taken to task by Mr. Coolidge on Oct. 20, and was requested not to repeat such statements, since they put the President "in the position of appearing inconsistent." Senator Fess, however, reiterated publicly his contention that Mr. Coolidge could not pre-



HE CAN'T GET AWAY FROM IT
—Adams Service

vent the convention from renominating him, and declared that he would not cease to make known his own belief that the nomination would be made. Former Governor Henry T. Allen of Kansas, undeterred by Senator Fess's rebuff, told Mr. Coolidge two days later that he agreed with the Ohio Senator "that the country would demand and get Mr. Coolidge for another term." The only reply of the President, Mr. Allen reported, was the question "How's crops?"

In the meantime the claims of other possible candidates for the Presidential nomination, both Republican and Democratic, have continued to be urged either by the candidates themselves or by their party followers. A speech at Sedalia, Mo., on Oct. 12, by Senator James A. Reed of that State, severely criticizing the Republican Administration, and declaring that "the times are ripe, and rotten ripe, for a change," was hailed as an indication that Senator Reed had entered the race for the Democratic nomination. Senator Reed, it will be remembered, was chairman of the committee in the last Congress which investigated the election scandals in Pennsylvania, Illinois and other States, and which

still hopes to prevent the seating of Senator-elect William S. Vare of Pennsylvania and Senator-elect Frank L. Smith of Illinois. Senator Frank D. Willis of Ohio, Republican, "waved his hat toward the ring" on Oct. 22 by outlining a comprehensive program for the Republicans, including what appeared to be a clear demand for prohibition enforcement.

Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, who stands squarely for prohibition, stirred the political cauldron on Oct. 24 by demanding of Governor Adam McMullen of Nebraska whether a published statement by the latter to the effect that Senator Borah was trying to divide the support for former Governor Lowden of Illinois in the Republican convention meant that Governor McMullen was opposed to sending to the convention a delegation instructed to vote for Senator George W. Norris of that State, to whose support Senator Borah is committed. Governor McMullen replied on Oct. 31 that he was for Senator Norris "so long as he has a chance," but that he had decided that former Governor Lowden, "among all candidates mentioned, has the best chance." His decision, he said, was "based on prevailing sentiment in the Middle West," which was turning to Lowden "for future help because they know he has concerned himself with the farm problems, and has been courageous enough to support legislation that will give agriculture an even chance with industry in the markets of America." Still another Republican candidate, Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas, leader of his party in the Senate, entered the race on Oct. 26.

The Democratic boom for Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, on the other hand, has apparently been left to run its course without formal direction, while the boom for Senator Norris, in whose behalf an active campaign in seventeen States was reported early in October as about to be launched, met an obstacle in the announcement by Senator Peter Norbeck of South Dakota, Progressive Republican, on Oct. 31, that he favored Lowden. It was reported on Nov. 1 that Senators Frazier and Nye of South Dakota, also Progressive Republicans, were prepared to offer strong opposition to the Lowden candidacy.

TAXES, TARIFFS AND LOANS

IN the discussion of national issues which has gone on during the month, questions of financial policy have taken easily the first place. Public hearings on tax reduction be-

fore the House Committee of Ways and Means began at Washington on Nov. 11. At the opening session the Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew W. Mellon, recommended

a reduction of the Federal corporation tax from 13½ per cent., the present figure, to 12 per cent., with a consequent reduction of \$135,000,000 in revenue; the extension, to corporations with not more than ten stockholders and an income of \$25,000 or less, of the privilege of paying taxes either as corporations or as partnerships, the revenue reduction in the latter case being estimated at \$30,000,000 to \$35,000,000; a readjustment of surtaxes on incomes between \$18,000 and \$70,000, involving a revenue loss of \$50,000,000; a further reduction of some \$7,000,000 through a repeal of the Federal estate or inheritance tax, and the exemption from taxation of American bankers' acceptances held by foreign banks of issue. Any change in the automobile, theatre admissions or stamp taxes, the revenue from which now amounts to about \$131,000,000, was opposed.

In defending these proposed reductions, aggregating about \$225,000,000, Secretary Mellon pointed out that it was necessary to take account not only of the surplus for the financial year 1928, but also of that for 1929. The former, excluding certain revenue-producing items that would not recur, he estimated at \$137,000,000, the latter at \$199,000,000. The total surplus, including such non-recurring receipts as back taxes and payments from the railways, was estimated at \$455,000,000 for 1928 and \$274,000,000 for 1929.

The amount of reduction recommended by Secretary Mellon was considerably less than Democratic leaders, and some Republicans as well, had talked about before the hearings opened, and the list of items contained by no means all those that members of Congress and various business organizations had favored. Exception was also taken to the Treasury estimates of the surplus for the next two years, on the ground of marked discrepancies between estimates and actual receipts in the past. Representative John N. Garner of Texas, leader of the Democratic minority of the committee, insisted that the surplus for 1928 would amount to \$600,000,000.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, at the hearing on Nov. 1, asked for reductions aggregating \$400,000,000, including the lowering of the corporation tax to 10 per cent. and the repeal of the so-called "nuisance" taxes (amusements and so forth), the stamp tax on tobacco, and the estate tax. For the repeal of the estate tax a considerable number of corporations and organizations, together with representatives of most of the States, marshalled their

forces. The Association of Railway Executives joined with others in urging a reduction of the corporation tax to 10 per cent. or a figure as near that as possible, while a delegation representing the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs made a plea on Nov. 3 for an exemption of \$3,500 for single persons. The American Farm Bureau Federation, on the other hand, registered its opposition to any tax reduction, advocating instead an annual reduction of at least \$1,000,000,000 in the public debt. It was reported on Nov. 5 that the Democratic members of the committee would propose a total reduction of \$411,000,000, to be attained by lowering the corporation tax to 10 per cent., abolishing the automobile and nuisance taxes, and by other changes. The actual framing of the new revenue bill was expected to begin on Nov. 14.

In connection with the presentation to the French Foreign Office, on Oct. 11, of a communication from President Coolidge expressing the hope that the tariff negotiations between the two countries would be successful, the Department of State announced that no objection would be made to the proposed refunding by France of some \$78,000,000 of 8 per cent. bonds which American bankers had marketed in the United States. The announcement brought sharply into controversy a policy which dates from the Harding Administration, when the then Secretary of State, Charles E. Hughes, issued a circular (March 3, 1922) stating that while the department



BORAH RAISES AN ISSUE
 "And Everywhere That Mary Went"
 —The New York Times

could not require American bankers to consult it, and would not pass upon "the merits of: foreign loans as business transactions nor assume any responsibility whatever in connection with loan transactions," it nevertheless believed "that in view of the possible national interest involved, it should have the opportunity of saying to the underwriters concerned, should it appear advisable to do so, that there is or is not objection to any particular loan."

In a statement given out on Oct. 13, Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, Democrat, former Secretary of the Treasury and one of the principal authors of the Federal Reserve banking system, vigorously assailed the policy of the department as wholly wanting in constitutional or legal warrant. "What on earth," he asked, "has the Department of State properly to do with the private business transactions of American citizens or concerns with the Governments or citizens of foreign nations, except to demand for them equal treatment under the laws of such foreign nations? * * * Private business has no right to ask or to receive the imprimatur of the Government on their credit transactions, nor should foreign Governments be required to get the permission of our State Department to engage in the ordinary commerce of credits or commodities with American business concerns."

The Department of State admitted that its action in the matter was without legal justification, but insisted that since the World War it had been regularly consulted by American bankers in regard to proposed foreign loans, and that such consultation was voluntary on the bankers' part. President Coolidge, who upheld the department, intimated that although he had considered abandoning the policy, he "had come to the conclusion that unless some such plan was followed, Congress might enact a drastic

regulatory act which in the end might interfere with the making of any such loans." His statement called forth another sharp attack from Senator Glass, who pointed out that the control of foreign commerce, of which foreign loans were a part, was vested by the Constitution in Congress and not in the Executive, and that it was an extraordinary thing for the Department of State to set up "a dangerous policy of espionage and moral control" over private loans abroad for the purpose of preventing the establishment by Congress of some different method of dealing with the subject.

Although the Department of State took pains to affirm that its approval of the French refunding loan had nothing to do with the pending tariff controversy, it was nevertheless announced on Oct. 26 that a provisional agreement had been made by which American imports into France should pay the same duties as they did before the new French tariff went into effect, except in cases where the new minimum French tariff upon which the Franco-German commercial treaty was based prescribed higher rates. It was also understood that the sanitary regulations which have restricted or prohibited the importation of French agricultural products into the United States would be reconsidered, and that the activities of American Treasury agents in France, whose efforts to ascertain from an examination of the books of manufacturers or merchants the cost of production of French goods have aroused vigorous protest, would be discontinued. Subsequent correspondence between the two Governments, however, showed no disposition on the part of France to abandon its demand for reciprocal concessions in a new commercial treaty, and the actual negotiation of the treaty had not been begun when this review was prepared.

OF GENERAL INTEREST

THE worst flood in the history of New England, the result of heavy rains at the beginning of November, caused the loss of approximately 125 lives and a property loss of many millions of dollars. Montpelier, St. Johnsbury and Rutland, Vt., Springfield, Mass., and a number of other cities were wholly or partly submerged, bridges were carried away, and large areas of farm land in the upper Connecticut Valley were inundated. In Vermont, New Hampshire and Massachusetts, the three States which suffered most, relief work was promptly organized with the assistance of United

States troops and aviators and the American Red Cross. The disaster added further impetus to the demand for a comprehensive treatment of the flood problem at the hands of Congress.

A strike of 4,000 miners in the Colorado coal fields, called by the Industrial Workers of the World on Oct. 18, was still in progress when this review was prepared. A threat of martial law on Oct. 29 put an end to violence on the part of the strikers, and on Nov. 7 all the prominent leaders of the I. W. W. in southern Colorado were arrested by State police.

Rear Admiral Thomas P. Magruder, Commander of the Fourth Naval District and Commandant of the Philadelphia Navy Yard, whose published criticisms of the Navy Department caused a stir in naval circles, was relieved of his post at Philadelphia on Oct. 25, and on Nov. 7 was placed on waiting orders at Washington.

The monoplane *American Girl*, carrying Ruth Elder and her pilot-navigator, George W. Haldeman, which took off from Roosevelt Field, Long Island, on Oct. 11 for Paris, was forced down at sea on the 13th about 325 miles north-northeast of the Azores. The occupants of the plane were rescued by the Dutch tanker *Barendrecht* and landed at the Azores, whence they proceeded to Lisbon by steamer, later went on to Paris, and finally returned to New York, where they received an official reception by the city on Nov. 11.

Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, who left Mitchel Field on July 20 in his monoplane the *Spirit of St. Louis*, landed at the same field on Oct. 23, having flown 22,350 miles, visited every State in the Union, made 147 speeches, and attended 69 dinners as the guest of honor.

The trial of Albert B. Fall, former Secretary of the Interior, and Harry F. Sinclair, oil operator, on charges of conspiracy to defraud the Government in the lease of the Teapot Dome naval oil reserve, which began in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia on Oct. 17, came to an abrupt end on Nov. 2 when the Court ordered a mistrial following the presentation of affidavits by counsel for the Government alleging "close, intimate, objectionable and im-

proper surveillance" of the jurors by agents of the Burns Detective Agency of New York. An inquiry into the charges was at once begun by a Grand Jury.

The elections on Nov. 8 turned for the most part on State or local issues. In New York, where 150 members of the Assembly, ten Justices of the Supreme Court, and a Representative in Congress were chosen, the Republicans won 87 of the Assembly seats and the Congressional seat. All but one of nine proposed amendments to the State Constitution, among them amendments establishing a budget system and allowing New York City to increase its debt limit by \$300,000,000 for the construction of subways, were approved, but one providing for a four-year-term for Governor and State officers was defeated. The rejection of this latter amendment was a victory for Governor Smith.

New Jersey elected a Republican Legislature and Pennsylvania a Republican Congressman. The Mayoralty ticket backed by Representative Vare was overwhelmingly successful in Philadelphia, while a Socialist ticket was elected in Reading, Pa. In Kentucky, where the main issue was the continuance of legalized race-track betting, J. C. W. Beckham, the Democratic candidate for Governor, who opposed the system, was defeated. A proposal to allow local officials to share in the fees collected from prohibition offenders, already held to be unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court but sponsored by the State Anti-Saloon League notwithstanding, was overwhelmingly rejected at a referendum in Ohio.

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

The End of the Revolt in Mexico

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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THE rebellion against the Calles Government, which was headed early in October by two Presidential candidates, General Francisco Serrano and General Arnulfo Gómez, collapsed completely within five weeks. After the capture and execution of General Serrano on Oct. 4, and the defeat of the Gómez forces five days later in the Perote region of the State of

Vera Cruz, the rebels were driven into hiding in the mountains, where they were gradually surrounded by Federal forces under the command of General Gonzalo Escobar. Finally, on Nov. 3, General Gómez and his nephew, General Viscarra, were captured and summarily executed near Teocelo, State of Vera Cruz. Three other army officers captured at the same time

were ordered court-martialed and were later executed. The Presidential statement announcing this news expressed the hope that two other traitors, Generals Almada and Medina, who were reported to be still hiding in the mountains, would soon be captured. Public funerals for General Gómez and his four associates were held in Mexico City on Nov. 7.

Through the maze of published rumors, reports, charges, counter-charges and denials, the facts in connection with the Gómez-Serrano rebellion that seem at this writing to stand out in bold relief are: (1) That the rebellion was joined by only a relatively small part of the army; (2) that, while limited almost entirely to militarists, it had the moral and perhaps the material support of the Conservative and Clerical groups in Mexico and was therefore, as regards the revolutionary program of socio-economic reform initiated since 1910, as much a reactionary movement as the Victoriano Huerta coup of 1913-1914 and the de la Huerta rebellion of ten years later; (3) that President Calles emerges from the conflict stronger than ever, with a loyal, well-trained and well-equipped army behind him, and (4) that, as the sole remaining candidate for the Presidency, General Obregón will most likely succeed President Calles next year and will, if elected, continue the latter's domestic and foreign policies, particularly—according to a pronouncement by General Obregón on Oct. 12—the Calles policy regarding the enforcement of the constitutional provisions relating to religion. Two bombs were hurled at General Obregón by "political enemies" in an attempt to assassinate him on Nov. 13; he escaped with slight injury.

The Hon. Dwight W. Morrow, newly accredited Ambassador from the United States to Mexico, entered the latter country at Nuevo Laredo on Oct. 22 and proceeded directly to Mexico City, where he arrived the following day. Special precautions were taken by the Mexican Government to safeguard Mr. Morrow and his family and suite after they entered Mexico. According to *The New York Times* correspondent in Mexico City, Mr. Morrow, from the time that his train left the border until he arrived in Mexico City, "was the recipient of such demonstrations of welcome as had never in Mexican history been accorded to any diplomat entering" that country.

Mr. Morrow's first official act was to call upon Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs Estrada on Oct. 25. Four days later, in a colorful ceremony at the National Palace,



WHY GOOD MEN DO NOT GO INTO POLITICS IN MEXICO
The New York Herald Tribune

he presented to President Calles the letters of recall of his predecessor, the Hon. J. R. Sheffield, and his own letters of credence as Ambassador. In presenting his credentials Mr. Morrow welcomed "the opportunity of cooperating" with President Calles "in finding a mutually satisfactory solution of the problems" with which the two countries are now faced. He expressed the hope that, "animated with a common desire to promote the welfare" of the two countries, they "shall not fail to adjust the outstanding questions with that dignity and mutual respect which should mark the international relationship of two sovereign and independent States."

By way of reply to Ambassador Morrow, President Calles said:

It is my desire that the Government of Mexico shall cooperate with that of the United States in finding a mutually satisfactory solution of the matters pending between the two nations, and, in the same hope, I trust that on such bases of unshaken dignity and respect between independent and sovereign nations, cordial decisions may be adopted which once and for all may dispel misunderstanding, and establish those solid principles of constant cooperation, harmony and loyal friendship which should characterize the relations between two peoples of such mutual interests and such intimate proximity.

Two sources of friction in United States-Mexican relations were eliminated late in October. On Oct. 27, President Calles cancelled a decree of May 30, 1927, which forbade Government departments to make direct purchases of materials in the United States, although they were still permitted to purchase supplies from United States firms already established in Mexico. This decree was regarded as a reprisal for an embargo established by United States authorities on certain shipments belonging to the Mexican Government. On Oct. 30 the difficulties between American insurance companies and the Mexican Government were also straightened out. The basis for these difficulties was the Mexican law of July 26, 1926, which provides that no Mexican individual or concern is permitted to place insurance in a foreign insurance company which has not complied with certain Mexican formalities, including the investment of certain percentages of the funds in Mexico. Since the law went into effect there have been many seizures by the Mexican Government of the mail of American insurance companies. It is this objectionable practice that has been eliminated, although it comes through no change in the Mexican law relating to foreign insurance companies.

The robbery of the payroll of the American-owned Amajac Mines of Ixtlan, in the State of Nayarit, and the kidnapping and holding for ransom of the general manager of the property, W. E. Mitchell, a British subject, constituted another act of banditry in a long series of such acts in that State during the past few months. As a result both the British and United States Governments made urgent representations to the Mexican Foreign Office concerning the matter. United States Consul Blocker at Mazatlan demanded on Oct. 19 that the military authorities in that region "take action" in the matter. Daniel Cruz, bandit leader, who is alleged to have attacked a train in the State of Nayarit on Aug. 23, which resulted in the mortal wounding of Miss Florence Anderson of California, was reported to have been killed by Federal troops on Oct. 24. A passenger train en route from Laredo to Mexico City was attacked by 100 bandits near San Luis Potosi on Oct. 18. Eight passengers were killed and ten wounded, and the express and mail cars looted. Federal troops pursued the bandits and in a battle fought on Oct. 21 killed two, and subsequently captured and executed nine others.

A voluminous report upon the status of

the Mexican Federation of Labor, its relation to the Mexican Government and the nature of the Mexican Government itself was made public in Los Angeles on Oct. 9 by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The report finds that the Mexican labor movement "has made astounding progress in its brief life," having performed the not "inconsiderable accomplishment" of having "built up its membership of 2,000,000 in ten years"; that it has progressed from a vague policy of socializing industry, enunciated in 1912, to the understanding that if the workers are to prosper, industry must also prosper; that it is "contributing to the development of progress in Mexico," and that it "is slowly but certainly developing along lines quite similar to the American Federation of Labor in its method and policies." The report refutes the charge made at the 1926 convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Mexican Federation is a creature of the Mexican Government and financially subsidized by it. As regards the Mexican Government, the report declares that it "is not a trade union Government in any sense of the word. It is not a labor Government and certainly is not a socialistic Government."

The voluntary restriction of Mexican immigration into the United States by the Mexican Government, rather than an immediate restriction of Mexican immigration and the inclusion of Mexican immigrants under the quota law, was favored on Oct. 11 by the American Federation of Labor, by a vote of 135 to 32, at its annual convention in Los Angeles. This action was in accordance with an agreement reached last August between the American and Mexican Federations of Labor, whereby the latter federation was to petition the Mexican Government to adopt a restrictive policy which would conform to the immigration policy of the United States.

A movement to carry on a national campaign to improve the depressed economic situation was launched early in October at a convention in Mexico City of the Confederated Chambers of Commerce.

Petroleum activities in Mexico have declined at least 50 per cent. since Jan. 1 of this year; and during July petroleum production dropped to slightly under 5,500,000 barrels, according to a study of the situation completed by the Minerals Division of the Department of Commerce and made public in Washington on Oct. 18. The incursion of salt water in the various producing areas, rather than the disturbed condi-

tions due to the oil controversy with the United States or recent revolutionary outbreaks, is given as the reason for Mexico's decline as a producer of petroleum.

Mexico is purchasing annually \$200,000,000 worth of goods in the United States, according to a statement made on Oct. 21 at the Dallas convention of the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners by A. P. Carillo, Mexican Consul General at San Antonio. Mr. Carillo deprecated the failure of American business

men to allow longer credit terms on goods sold to Mexico, and also their failure to meet European price fixing, both of which failures, he said, are endangering the growth of the trade from the United States to Mexico.

Announcement was made in mid-October that the Yaqui Indians of Sonora, who have been in rebellion since September, 1926, had unconditionally surrendered the bulk of the fighting men of their tribe to the Mexican Government.

EVENTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

NICARAGUA.—Significant official statements were made during October concerning the policy which the United States Government proposes to pursue with respect to the forthcoming Presidential campaign in Nicaragua, the outcome of which will be decided next October by elections which are to be supervised by officials of the United States Government. In answer to a letter from Chairman Borah of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in which he stated that he had been advised that the majority of Nicaraguan citizens were not registered as voters and that by "reason of manipulations * * * registration has not been had to any marked extent," Secretary of State Kellogg replied on Oct. 4, in part, as follows:

Supervision means not merely the preservation of order at the time of the election, but a sufficient control over the preliminary steps, including registration, to see that everybody entitled to vote has an opportunity to register. * * * This matter seems vital to us, as it does to you. You may depend upon it that every effort will be made on our party to eliminate fraud and intimidation and to guarantee to every citizen of Nicaragua his rights in this matter.

General Emiliano Chamorro, author of the 1925-1926 Conservative coup, which led to the Liberal uprising and the intervention of the United States, and prospective candidate of the Conservative Party for the Presidency, was formally advised, when he called at the Department of State on Oct. 22, that "the Government of the United States has no choice but to point out that it regards General Chamorro as ineligible under the provisions of the Nicaraguan Constitution to the office of President of Nicaragua during any part of the term commencing Jan. 1, 1929." The constitutional provision referred to is found in Article 104, which reads: "No citizen who holds the office of President, either as the duly elected incumbent, or accidentally, shall

be eligible to the office of President or Vice President for the next term." General Chamorro was *de facto* President of Nicaragua from Jan. 17 to Oct. 30, 1926.

In answer to a letter from Congressman F. H. LaGuardia of New York, protesting the appointment of military and naval officers to supervise the Nicaraguan elections, and suggesting, for this purpose, the assignment of "a group of experienced, sincere and impartial Americans, unspoiled by diplomatic training and bare of side arms, gatlings and bombs," Secretary of State Kellogg answered on Oct. 6 that the idea put forward by Representative LaGuardia "has already suggested itself to the department and will certainly receive most serious consideration."

Late in October, after the former commander of the Liberal forces in Nicaragua, General José Moncada, had arrived in Washington, Secretary of State Kellogg, in answer to inquiries concerning the attitude of the State Department toward the forthcoming Nicaraguan Presidential election, said, in part:

The United States is not going to select any candidate for President of Nicaragua, either Conservative or Liberal. Neither is the United States going to back or use its influence for the election of any particular person. * * * Following the Constitution of Nicaragua and the treaty, the United States cannot recognize anybody who is not qualified under the Constitution to hold the office. The question of General José Moncada's eligibility for the Nicaraguan Presidency has never been raised, and so far as I know he is not disqualified under the Constitution of Nicaragua or the Central American treaty.

General Moncada announced at Panamá on Oct. 8, while en route to Washington, that he had decided to accept the candidacy of the Liberal Party for the Nicaraguan Presidency. Local and municipal elections, held on Nov. 6 and supervised by United

States Marines and the National Guard, resulted in a victory for the Liberals.

Hostilities between United States Marines and Nicaraguan constabulary, on the one hand, and rebel forces under Generals Sandino and Salgado, on the other hand, continued throughout October, and resulted in the disappearance and probable death of two United States aviators and in heavy casualties among the rebels. On Oct. 8, after having killed and dispersed many of Sandino's forces, numbering 200 men, by dropping bombs on them, Lieutenant Earl A. Thomas of the United States Marine Corps, and his pilot, Sergeant Frank E. Dowdell, crashed into a mountain. The two Americans subsequently signaled that they were unhurt and rescue parties were sent out, but on Nov. 8 reports were received that they had been trapped and killed by Sandino's men.

While searching for the missing American aviators, forty American Marines and Nicaraguan constabulary engaged with rebel contingents numbering 400 men on Oct. 18; in the battle sixty-seven rebels were killed or wounded and four members of the Nicaraguan constabulary were killed. The Marines suffered no casualties. Late in October a detachment of Marines and Nicaraguan constabulary under the command of Lieutenant Clarence J. Chappell Jr. was attacked by 175 rebel followers of Sandino near the place where Lieutenant Thomas and his pilot crashed on Oct. 8. In the three-hour battle that followed five of the rebels were killed and several were wounded. No casualties were suffered by Lieutenant Chappell's force. A Washington dispatch of Oct. 22 stated that it had been reported to Secretary of State Kellogg that a total of 540 Nicaraguans had been killed in engagements with United States Marines since the Hon. Henry L. Stimson, personal representative of President Coolidge, declared early last Summer that the organized revolution in Nicaragua was over.

CUBA.—President Coolidge, it was authoritatively reported from Washington on Nov. 1, in an effort to recover the lost prestige of this Government in Latin

America, due primarily to its recent Central American policy, plans to deliver the opening address at the Sixth Pan-American Congress, which is to convene in Havana on Jan. 16. By thus carrying personally the American doctrine of mutual assistance to the Latin-American nations, and by presenting in person the views of the United States Government on subjects that had caused irritation, he hopes, according to authoritative reports, to lay the groundwork for subsequent messages of good-will by Secretary of State Kellogg and the members of the official delegation of the United States. The personnel of this delegation, as announced on Nov. 1, was as follows: Former Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes, Chairman; Henry P. Fletcher, United States Ambassador to Italy and Chairman of the United States delegations to the Fifth Pan-American Congress at Santiago, Chile, in 1923; former United States Senator Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama; Dwight W. Morrow, United States Ambassador to Mexico; Judge Morgan J. O'Brien of New York; James Brown Scott of Washington, D. C., trustee and Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Ray Lyman Wilbur, President of Leland Stanford Jr. University, California, and Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan American Union, Washington, D. C.

President Machado, in a message read to the Cuban House of Representatives on Oct. 3, asked Congress to enact a law embodying the following features: (1) Authorizing the President to appoint a commission of experts on sugar problems to assist him in the study of such problems, as well as the question of restricting the Cuban sugar crop in accordance with the world's visible supply of sugar, and also production estimates and statistics; (2) authorizing, in case the law was enacted, the collection of a penalty of \$20 on every bag of sugar of 325 pounds that is produced in excess of the allocated quantities to each mill. A bill embodying the above provisions passed the Cuban House on the night of Nov. 3 and was at once sent to the Senate.

New tariff rates became effective in Cuba on Oct. 26.



The South American Attitude Toward the League of Nations

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WHAT is the present relation between the countries of South America and the League of Nations? To give an intelligent answer to this query demands a review of the more important facts which have brought about the present situation. The people of the southern continent of America have always had a keen interest in the League, just as they have always had a vital interest in the ideals which brought the League into being. Such interest is an integral part of their socio-political ideology, no other people having a greater regard for things international. This interest was a heritage from Old Spain and Old Portugal, who in turn received it as a heritage from Old Rome. This interest in the international is an attribute of the universality of the Latin mind, and its transmission to the New World was both logical and inevitable.

The larger fruition of it in Hispanic America has made it the most important single phenomenon in the socio-political life of the continent. It was this interest that evolved the soul unity of the continent and which, if given time and an opportunity for further growth, will eventually produce the World State. This ideal and its potentiality in the political world were very well expressed recently by Dr. Maurtua of Peru, in an address before the International Conference of Jurists in Rio de Janeiro.

The South American republics, it will be remembered, each established a relation with the League of Nations in one of three ways: First, by participating in the World War—Brazil alone falls into this category; secondly, by severing relations with Germany—Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru and Uruguay come under this class; thirdly, by accepting an invitation to accede to the Covenant—Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay and Venezuela fall into this group. The members of the first two groups were represented in the Peace Conference, Brazil receiving three seats and each of the other

four one seat apiece. All five affixed their signatures to the Treaty of Versailles, but only four ratified the document. Ecuador, failing to ratify any of the treaties growing out of the war and carrying with them membership privileges in the League, never became a member of the League of Nations. But the people of nine out of the ten republics had once more demonstrated their interest in the international and were ready to play their rôle in the activities of this larger body of nations.

Argentina entered the League with zeal and high hopes. She desired to do through it what she had failed to do through the neutrals during the war, when she attempted unsuccessfully to convene a World Congress of Neutrals. She accordingly sent a strong delegation to the First Assembly, headed by Señor Pueyrredon, with a program outlining the following modifications in the Covenant, which she felt were imperative if the League were to do its most effective work: First, the League must be open to all who might desire to enter it; secondly, the composition of the Council of the League was to be modified on the principle of universality and equality, and, thirdly, there must be established a permanent court of international justice embodying the principles of compulsory arbitration and compulsory jurisdiction. These were daring proposals to make at that time, but they were of the essence of right and justice. Argentina did not offer these in the form of amendments. That was left to others. But she followed their fate with the keenest interest, and when the Assembly adopted a resolution declaring that no amendments would be considered during its sessions she withdrew from that body. Señor Pueyrredon, in making this decision known to the Assembly, declared:

Our country saw in the proposed League the birth of a new and beneficent instrument of peace, * * * and in the amendments to the Covenant it saw the prospect of cooperation in perfecting the Constitu-

ent Charter of the League. * * * We believed that they (the proposed amendments) would be considered at the earliest opportunity, as they are an integral part of the problems which concern the very basis of the Constitution of the League. The vote of the Assembly has closed the question.

Whatever may be thought of the course pursued by Argentina, the fact remains that she has taken no active part in the major activities of the League since the First Assembly. She did participate in the deliberations of the Committee on the Composition of the Council of the League and in the Preliminary Conference on Disarmament in 1926. In the former she took occasion to reiterate her stand in favor of the principle of universality and equality in the composition of the Council. She held that until this were done or a system of rotation adopted the League would continue to be a league of the nations of Europe and not a league of the nations of the world.

Bolivia and Peru have had experiences similar to those of Argentina. They both entered the League with the hope of helping to bring about an era of greater friendliness among nations and felt that to attain this laudable aim it was necessary to remove the causes of friction and ill-feeling. They had a selfish motive in mind, to be sure; but was it not a legitimate one? They desired to have two treaties between them and Chile revised by the First Assembly and accordingly made formal request for such revision to the Secretary General. They were informed that their request had been made too late to place the subject on the agenda of the First Assembly, but that their request would be communicated to the members of that body. As soon as Chile got wind of what was transpiring she declared that the Assembly had no power to consider the case in question and by her stand persuaded Bolivia and Peru to withdraw the request, both of them reserving the right, however, to bring the matter to the attention of the Assembly at a later time. When Bolivia made a formal request of the Second Assembly to revise her Treaty of 1904 with Chile, Chile again made a firm stand against the consideration of the question by the Assembly, stoutly denying the right of that body to try any matter wholly American in character and threatening to withdraw if the matter were taken up by the Assembly. To determine the powers which it had in such matters, the Assembly then appointed a committee, which reported that Bolivia's

request was not in order, that the Assembly had no right to consider treaties which had been made prior to the existence of the League of Nations, and especially treaties which concerned only the signatories. Bolivia accepted this decision, again reserving her right to bring the matter to the attention of the Assembly at a later date. It remains to be noted that neither Bolivia nor Peru has taken any active part in the major activities of the League since the Second Assembly.

Brazil, by reason of the part she played in the World War, enjoyed a very intimate relation with the League from the first. She was a member of the commission which drafted the Covenant, was one of the four nations to be assigned a nonpermanent seat in the Council and was successively elected to such a seat until she withdrew from the League in 1926. But even though she was a member of such intimacy, she was not opposed to the principle of universality and equality for the Council, was among those who agitated for a reorganization of that body from the first and differed from Argentina only in the method of procedure. She favored the increase in the number of nonpermanent members only as a temporary measure. She had voted in favor of increasing the number from four to six in 1922; but when the question of the admission of Germany to the League and to a permanent seat on the Council arose, she decided that it was time to take a stand in favor of reorganizing the Council. She did not object to the admission of Germany, but did demand that the system of permanent members of the Council be changed, either by enlarging the number so as to give to every continental group its proportional quota or substituting for it a system of rotation, thereby assuring the incorporation of the principle of universality and legal equality among the League members. Brazil declared that the Council had too many members from Europe—seven out of the ten members of the Council—and twenty-six members in the League, whereas America, which had nineteen members in the League, had only two nonpermanent members on the Council; moreover, that Hispanic America was the only continental grouping having no permanent seat on the Council.

It is not accurate to say that Brazil championed merely her own case. She championed a much larger principle—the cause of all America, asking for the proportional representation among the perma-

ment members of the Council to which she believed America entitled. But the Cecil Plan was adopted, increasing the nonpermanent members from six to nine. Brazil accordingly resigned her seat in the Council and served notice on the League that she would withdraw from its membership after the required two years had expired. She has, therefore, taken no active part in the major activities of the League since June, 1926.

Chile has played a very successful rôle in the League and has been able to direct her efforts toward the preservation of principles which apply more especially in definite regional groupings, as shown in her opposition to the efforts of Bolivia and Peru to have the League revise the Treaty of 1883 and the Treaty of 1904. She has also championed the cause of universality for the Council, contending that that body should be open to the same currents of opinion as the Assembly; but she has been willing to await a reasonable time for this to come about. She has had able leadership. Sr. Agustin Edwards has taken a very active part in the Assembly and has been able to render his country very valuable services. Sr. Enrique Villegas has taken an active part in the Council, Chile having been elected to a nonpermanent seat on that body in 1926 for the three-year period. Honors have come to her at the hands of the League. Sr. Edwards served as the President of the Third Assembly and Sr. Villegas in a like capacity in the last session of the Council. It was in this last rôle that Sr. Villegas opened the last or Eighth Assembly. Chile continues therefore as a very active member of the League.

Among the remaining members of the South American group Uruguay may be said to have played a very able rôle in both the Council and the Assembly. She has had able leadership, Sr. Alberto Guani having served with conspicuous ability in

both bodies. He has staunchly championed the cause of universality and legal equality among League States and has always striven to make the League a more powerful organization. Honors have also come to Uruguay, for Sr. Guani served as President of the Fortieth Session of the Council and as President of the last or Eighth Assembly. Colombia has also been true to the international ideals of South America. She was elected to a nonpermanent seat in the Council in 1926 in the two-year group. Paraguay and Venezuela have also played a rôle in keeping with the larger ideals of the group to which they belong, the latter having taken an active part in the effort to reorganize the Council on the principal of universality and equality.

There are at the present writing, therefore, only five States of South America taking an active part in the major work of the League of Nations. Moreover, the largest and most important of the States are not active members of the League, having preferred to sacrifice whatever advantages membership in that body may bring to the principles which they believe to be essential to the larger functioning of a League of the World. Foreign influences have had a large part, no doubt, in determining their course. The influence of Spain has been powerful with the Spanish-American States. Her withdrawal from the League in 1926 and her absence from its major activities have had their effect. The elaborate celebrations this year on Columbus Day, or the Day of the Race, as they prefer to call it, is another evidence of the *rapprochement* between Spain and her former colonies.

Finally, the South American countries have been ardent supporters of the Permanent Court of International Justice from its inception, and the late Ruy Barbosa, as well as Epitacio Pessoa, his successor, both of Brazil, have done good work as members of that distinguished body.

OTHER EVENTS IN SOUTH AMERICA

BRAZIL—The shipment of \$11,000,000 in gold on Nov. 5 from New York to Rio de Janeiro foreshadows the return of Brazil to the gold standard. This return cannot be consummated, however, until the monetary system has been reorganized; but it is hoped that this can be done so as to effect the return to the gold standard in 1928. This shipment, made on the Munson liner *Pan-America*, is only a part of the

total sum of gold bought by Brazil in the United States. The entire sum, \$36,000,000, weighs 67 tons and consists of 1,800,000 twenty-dollar gold pieces, packed in 720 kegs, \$50,000 to the keg.

CHILE—The celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the founding of *El Mercurio* has called attention to the journalistic activities in South America.

There is not a single group of people anywhere, considered relatively, which has made greater progress in the field of journalism. Every one of the South American republics has a number of periodicals, ranging in size from the small four-page sheets to those having, on occasion, as many as 80 or 90 pages. The leading dailies, such as *La Prensa*, *La Nación*, *La Epoca* and *La Argentina* of Argentina, *O Jornal do Commercio*, *O Jornal*, *A Nacao* and *O Paiz* of Brazil, *El Mercurio* and *El Diario Ilustrado* of Chile, and *El Siglo* and *El Dia* of Uruguay publish a greater amount of foreign news than any of the great dailies of the United States. Hundreds of periodicals are published in Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro and Santiago de Chile. The first publishes over 500, fully 70 of which are dailies, while Chile publishes over 650, about 100 of which are dailies and about 200 weeklies. The news printed in the larger periodicals is world-wide, well selected and interestingly told, and the editorials are sound and scholarly. In addition to their purely journalistic activities these larger dailies perform many other important services. The activities of *La Prensa* in this regard are, of course, very well known. The exile by the Government

of Chile of such a large number of its well-known men, including former President Arturo Alessandri, former Ministers of Foreign Affairs Ernesto Barros Jarpa and Galvarino Nieto, former Minister of Public Works Gustavo Lira, former Premiers Jorge Matte Gormaz and Luis Izquierdo, former Senator Cornello Saavedra Montt and the editor of *El Diario Ilustrado*, Luis Alberto Labarca, adds the touch necessary to make the deeper meaning in an excerpt from *La Prensa* of Sept. 12 more apparent:

An occasion seldom realized in the newspaper world and rare indeed in South America is that which our contemporary, *El Mercurio*, of Chile, celebrates today—its hundredth birthday anniversary.

For us of Argentina the event has especially gratifying features. We cannot forget that among those who worked on *El Mercurio* as members of its staff were Sarmiento, the great sower of ideas and outstanding intellect of America, and Alberdi, the eminent constitutionalist, and Mitre, and Juan Carlos Gómez, and other illustrious Argentinians who taught school, so to speak, from its columns. Thus it served as a comforting refuge for many of our best minds who in epochs of institutional chaos crossed the Andes in search of healthier environment and found in it an oasis where they might thrive and give vent to the wealth of ideas with which their gifted spirits overflowed.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

British Parties Preparing for the Next Election

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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ALTHOUGH in the normal course of events the next general election will not be held for more than a year, political discussion in Great Britain has been centred during the past six weeks upon the party alignments and manoeuvres preparatory to that struggle, and it was with the election in mind that the annual conferences of the Conservative and Labor Parties, held early in October, discussed the various questions before them. Since that time the Liberals have been making strenuous efforts to increase their party funds, rehabilitate their organization and define their policies. These activities may seem premature when the present House of Commons, with its strong Conservative majority, still has two years of its legally maximum life ahead of

it. In point of fact, however, it is generally expected that the election will occur early in 1929 at the latest. Premier Stanley Baldwin may even ask for a dissolution of Parliament and appeal to the people at almost any time from now on. All parties, therefore, are preparing for the electoral battle which will occur at whatever moment the Conservative leaders deem most advantageous to their cause.

It is not customary for British parties to formulate platforms that are as definite and complete as those advanced by American parties. Yet British party conferences do adopt resolutions which set forth the attitude of the respective parties upon questions upon which most of the members are agreed. At its Cardiff meeting the Conser-

vative Party indicated that it would appeal to the people chiefly upon its achievements, its program with reference to the reform of the House of Lords, the extension of the right to vote to women on the same basis as men, the maintenance of the Trades Disputes act passed during the last session, the creation of a system of long-term credits on farm mortgages as an aid to agriculture and the maintenance of the established constitutional system from assaults by the Socialists working through the Labor Party.

The heart of the Conservative position with reference to the House of Lords is expressed in that part of the Cardiff resolution which declares that the party will support "those measures necessary to assure that the will of the people shall be safeguarded by an effective second chamber." In other words, it is proposed to enable the Lords to force a popular referendum upon any proposal to change the constitution and to define a money bill (over which the Lords have no power even of amendment) in such a way that social legislation cannot be forced through over the head of the second chamber under the guise of finance measures. The Government was urged to pass legislation to accomplish these ends during the life of the present Parliament.

Upon the lowering of the voting age for women from 30 to 21, Mr. Baldwin declared: "I have never wavered in my own view that even if you desire it—which I do not—you cannot go back on the pledges given by Mr. Bonar Law and myself. * * * To pretend that equal franchise means anything but an equal franchise at 21 is to delude yourselves and to make that fatal mistake on the part of Tories to try and score by being clever." During the present session of Parliament, therefore, the Conservatives will seek to lower the age of women voters from 30 to 21 and to substitute the simple six-months-residence qualification for the present requirement of being a householder or the owner or lessee of property, or the wife of one.



THE BRITISH POLITICAL SITUATION

Lloyd George, with his new Liberal policy, passes by the stores kept by Baldwin and Ramsay MacDonald.

—The Evening Standard, London

At the Labor Party conference at Blackpool an official resolution was adopted, "in view of the forthcoming general election," instructing the national executive body to prepare a statement "setting forth the broad proposals which from time to time have been approved by the party conference and which constitute a program of legislative and administrative action for a Labor Government." The formal adoption of such a platform was abandoned by the older parties after the famous Newcastle program had nearly wrecked the Liberals in the early nineties and the debate at Blackpool indicated that the Laborites may have some difficulty in agreeing upon a satisfactory statement. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald wished the pronouncement to present a complete statement of the faith and works to which the Labor Party is pledged, "a system and a plan which a Labor Government with a majority behind it will work at and steadily produce." George Lansbury, who agreed that the party sought to change one social order into another social order, "hoped that the program would show that there was no need for violence, but that by the use of the vote they could change society into a cooperative society where men could live at peace with one another because justice and peace prevailed." Other leaders, however, thought that the immediate rather than the ultimate aims of the party should be stressed. Ernest Bevin of the transport workers, for instance, declared that "the first Labor Government could not achieve Socialism and could not hope to achieve all the dreams of the biggest of their dream-

ers." He would rather see a short program of immediate objectives which Labor could really hope to accomplish. Practically all the speeches indicated that every effort would be made to clear the Labor Party of the revolutionary taint and to go into the election with a program designed to capture the votes of Liberals and of the working class members of the Conservative Party. Resolutions adopted at Blackpool indicate that the program, when completed, would probably include proposals upon the following subjects: A surtax upon all incomes of more than £500 from invested capital; poor law reform; agricultural aid; education, including educational allowances to children and youths; the repeal of the Trade Disputes act; the reorganization of the coal industry by the Government, possibly with State ownership, and more friendly relations with Soviet Russia.

The results of the municipal elections, which occurred throughout Great Britain on Nov. 3, were regarded as of good omen by Labor, as that party made a net gain of more than 100 seats in the borough councils. On the other hand, the Socialists obtained a majority in the council of only one more city, Birkenhead, thus increasing the bor-

oughs which they control from six to seven, and the number of seats gained was not so great as last year.

Meanwhile the Liberal leaders have been engaged in preparations for what is generally expected to be a fight for the very existence of their party. On Oct. 20 it was announced that Lloyd George had transferred £300,000 from the political funds which he controls to the coffers of the Liberal Party for use in putting 500 candidates in the field at the next election. He also agreed to contribute some £30,000 a year to the headquarters organization of the party. Shortly afterward Sir Herbert Samuel appealed for additional financial support from all Liberals and began the organization of an army of Liberal workers designated as "The Liberal Hundred Thousand." The party also issued a manifesto attacking the Conservatives for the manner in which they have dealt with the League of Nations and the disarmament questions and indicating that active steps toward arbitration and disarmament would be a major issue in their campaign. It is probable that the Lloyd George land program will also be emphasized in the appeals of the Liberals to the electorate.

OTHER EVENTS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

GREAT BRITAIN—On Oct. 17 an important meeting occurred at the Mansion House, London, between representative employers, labor leaders and trades union officials. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the possibilities of furthering peace in industry and ending the labor-capitalist conflict which has been so destructive in recent years in Great Britain. A few days later the Council of the National Confederation of Employers' Organizations declared that only by the united efforts of employers and employees can Great Britain regain and keep its position in the keenly competitive world of today, and expressed the view that "the presence of a sincere mutual desire for a better understanding amongst all engaged in industry, without the intervention of political parties, is the first essential to those united efforts." Following the lead of Premier Baldwin and the conciliatory attitude of the leaders of the Trades Union Congress upon this question, these events indicate a determination of British capital and labor to make a genuine effort to compose their difficulties before the business of the country is permanently ruined by foreign competition. The same determination

to increase the efficiency of British industry is reflected in the merger of Vickers, Ltd., and Armstrong, Whitworth & Co., Ltd., to form a single dominant organization in the British manufacture of heavy special steel, shipbuilding and armaments. This combination is declared to be as significant as was the creation of the United States Steel Corporation.

World interest was excited by an address delivered on Oct. 21 by Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, who last Summer resigned from the Cabinet because he was dissatisfied with the Conservative Government's attitude toward the problems of international peace. Lord Cecil declared that the reduction of armaments is an indispensable condition of enduring peace. He also urged Great Britain to support the work of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations, more freely to encourage and participate in arbitration agreements, to stand ready to extend guarantees of the Locarno type to European nations which fear they might suffer if they were to disarm and unequivocally to support the League of Nations. A week later Sir Austen Chamberlain replied to the direct and implied criti-

cisms in Lord Cecil's speech by saying that he could not understand where he and Lord Cecil differed except that he felt that Lord Cecil was urging the Government to take greater risks in disarmament and the guarantee of the frontiers of foreign countries than he felt the trustees of the empire ought to assume. "Our purposes are the same—to strengthen the League by close cooperation with it of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

IRELAND—William T. Cosgrave was on Oct. 12 re-elected by the Dail Eireann as President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State. The vote, 76 to 70, indicates the scant margin by which he and his party retained control of the Legislature; but his majority, although slim, was said to be dependable. In addition to the votes of his own party, the Cumann na nGaedheal, Cosgrave was supported by the Farmer and the Independent members. The opposition vote was made up of the fifty-seven supporters of Eamon de Valera, leader of the Fianna Fail, and the thirteen labor members. Although de Valera and his followers took the oath of allegiance to the British Crown, they declared that the act was merely "an empty formula" and that they gave no allegiance other than their allegiance to the Irish nation. Against the protests of the Fianna Fail President Cosgrave presented the names of the other members of the Executive Council and secured their confirmation en bloc. The Ministry is composed of Ernest Blythe, Vice President, Minister of Finance and Minister of Posts and Telegraphs; Desmond Fitzgerald, Minister of Defence; John O'Sullivan, Minister of Education; Patrick McGiligan, Minister of Industry and Commerce and Minister of External Affairs; Patrick Hogan, Minister of Lands and Agriculture; Finian Lynch, Minister of Fisheries; Richard Mulcahy, Minister of Local Government and Public Health; James Fitzgerald Kenny, Minister of Justice. Michael Hayes was unanimously re-elected Speaker of the Dail.

The Parliament of Northern Ireland opened its Autumn session Oct. 12.

The Government majority in the Dail Eireann was increased from six to seven as a result of the victory of D. J. Esrey in the by-election for the Carlow (Kilkenny) seat announced on Nov. 7.

De Valera's motion to repeal the drastic Public Safety act, passed after the assassination of Vice President Kevin O'Higgins, was on Nov. 10 rejected by the Dail Eireann by 76 to 71 votes. The Government, how-

ever, agreed to limit the law to two instead of five years.

CANADA—An Inter-Provincial Conference, not unlike the Governors' Conference in the United States, convened at Ottawa on Nov. 3. Each of the nine Provinces sent its Premier and one or more of its other Ministers, while the Dominion was represented by Premier W. L. Mackenzie King and his entire Cabinet. The rules of the conference provided for no resolutions, no written record and no registered vote upon any subject. The attainment of a better understanding between the different Provinces and a more intelligent conception of the problems of each by the others was the purpose of the gathering.

At the very outset the assembled Premiers expressed unanimous opposition to the abolition of the Canadian Senate or to its supersession by an elective body. There seemed, however, to be a general feeling that the present upper chamber should be made somewhat more responsive to public opinion. Premier Taschereau of Quebec challenged the Dominion's assumption of complete control over aircraft and flying operations involved in the treaty with the United States, claiming that the matter was one over which the Provinces had legal control. The Federal Government finally agreed to refer the question of constitutionality to the Supreme Court, but indicated that the very nature of the case made Federal control a necessity.

The agenda of the conference included many other subjects of current political interest in Canada, among them the procedure for amending the British North America act, the development of water power, methods of taxation, Oriental immigration and the importation and exportation of liquors. Despite the rules of the conference, one resolution was passed expressing loyalty to the King and conveying greetings to the Governor-General.

R. B. Bennett of Calgary was chosen leader of the Conservative Party of Canada at the annual convention of the party, which met at Winnipeg on Oct. 10. The new leader is a lawyer with wide financial interests, being a director of the Royal Bank of Canada, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York and other important corporations, including great oil and timber companies.

The Dominion Government announced on Nov. 5 that Canada's net debt had dropped \$78,500,000 during the seven months of the fiscal year ended Oct. 31. In the same

period total revenues increased nearly \$20,000,000 over the corresponding seven months of last year.

AUSTRALIA—After a long period of internal dissension and of bitter conflict with the opposition parties, the rule of Labor in New South Wales was brought to an end on Oct. 15 with the resignation of Premier J. T. Lang and his Cabinet. The elections, held on Oct. 8, returned thirty-five Nationalists and thirteen members of the Country Party, which gave the Opposition a majority of six over the forty-two Labor members elected. Lang was succeeded as Premier by T. R. Bavin, the leader of the Nationalist-Country Party coalition. Shortly after assuming office the new Premier revealed the fact that the Labor Government had suppressed since last July the Railway Commissioner's request for increased rates to meet a railway deficit of £1,700,000 and that the State deficit for the financial year would probably be at least £4,500,000, despite any economies which could be effected. The Lang Government had been in power since June, 1925.

SOUTH AFRICA—The flag dispute, which had divided South Africans into two increasingly bitter camps since 1925, was settled on Oct. 24 by a compromise between Prime Minister Hertzog, Nationalist leader, and General Smuts, spokesman of the South African Party, which includes most of the English inhabitants of the Union. In the final settlement it was agreed that there should be two South African flags, the Union Jack and an ensign to consist of three broad horizontal stripes of blue, white and orange (the colors of the ancient House of Orange), with the Union Jack and the flags of the former Boer Republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, on the white stripe. Both flags are to be flown officially at the seaports, the four Provincial capitals and the larger cities, and throughout Natal. For the present the Union Jack will be flown by South African ships.

Commenting on the outcome of this phase of the struggle between Boer and Britain in South Africa, the *London Times* declared: "The supremely important fact is that the flag of South Africa is to be an agreed flag and not a flag forced upon one section of the people by another." The compromise, however, was reached only after feeling had reached a point of bitterness which gave rise to serious riots and to suggestions of civil war. Even after the com-

promise had been reached a strongly anti-British, anti-empire interpretation put upon the act by Dr. Malan, Minister of the Interior, seemed to indicate that the flag incident had merely been used by the extreme Nationalists to create animosity in order to destroy the connection between South Africa and the empire.

In addition to passing the flag bill the Legislature, which convened Oct. 14, took under consideration two other highly contentious measures, both of which were passed by the lower house and rejected by the Senate in the last session, the Iron and Steel bill and the Precious Stones bill. Under the terms of the Constitution if these bills are again rejected by the Senate they will be voted upon by a joint meeting of the two houses of the Legislature, a body which will be controlled by the Government majority in the lower house. The South African Party has bitterly criticized the Government for calling a special session of the Legislature to force these measures through, claiming that the Constitution intended that in such cases action should be delayed until the next regular session.

INDIA—The British Government announced on Nov. 8 its decision to appoint a commission two years earlier than was originally intended to report whether India is ready for a further measure of self-government. This step has been taken because of uncertainty regarding the question of how the rights of the Mohammedan minority are to be safeguarded under home rule and because as a result of that uncertainty relations between Hindus and Mohammedans have become severely strained. The commission consists of Sir John Simon, one of the Liberal leaders, as Chairman; Lord Burnham, proprietor of *The London Daily Telegraph*; Stephen Walsh, Minister of War in the MacDonald Labor Government, and the following Conservatives: Colonel G. R. Lane Fox, Minister of Mines in the present Government; Lord Strathcona, Major the Hon. E. Cadogan and Major C. R. Atlee. The fact that no Indian was appointed to the commission immediately brought hot protests from the Nationalists of India, despite the explanation that "the desire, natural and legitimate, of Indian members to see India a self-governing nation could hardly fail to color their judgment of her present capacity to maintain that rôle," and despite the proposal that both houses of the Imperial Parliament should hear the views of delegations from the Indian national Legislature and other Indian bodies.

Autonomist "Movement" in Alsace

By OTHON G. GUERLAC

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THE French Chamber reassembled on Nov. 3 for what will be practically the last session of its eventful career.

The budget is occupying all its time, except for the weekly holiday devoted to interpellations, which are as essential a part of French parliamentary activities as the Saturday football is of American institutions of higher learning. Grievances and complaints against the Government are thus released every Friday to the satisfaction of the House and the joy of the galleries, if not of the Ministers.

The outstanding question, however, is not what sins of omission or commission can be charged against the Government in the discharge of its duties, but rather whether the policy that has obtained since July, 1926, will be continued, and whether M. Poincaré will be able to maintain his hold on an uncertain majority so as to bring it safely through the budget discussion and other important debates down to the elections of May, 1928.

At present writing the signs are favorable enough. While one section of the Radical-Socialist Party chafes under the rigor of a discipline that is none too congenial, the party as a whole seems to realize that M. Poincaré is indispensable to the continuation of financial stability, even if many are critical of his fiscal policies. The convention of the party held in Paris in the last days of October expressed its willingness to go on with what they term the "experiment." To be sure, complaints about the soundness of some of his measures were heard on all sides. On the other hand, the taxpayers' groans over certain obnoxious taxes, the alarm over the decreasing yield of others, the slackness of business, the continued high cost of living, made it easy for the critics to show that all has not been perfect in this policy of actual, if not theoretical, valorization of the franc. Yet even M. Caillaux, in a speech full of ideas and facts delivered on Oct. 16 at Joigny, paid a handsome tribute to the merit of "the statesman who achieved the great result of stabilization." But at the Congress he asked, to the applause of his followers, that the actual stability of the franc be transformed into

legal stability. That will be the principal issue on which the attacks will concentrate in the debates of this session.

Some, at least, of the disturbing issues have been disposed of. M. Rakovsky, the undesirable Soviet Ambassador, has been replaced by M. Dogalevski, who is, so far, *persona grata*, and the threatened tariff war with the United States has been averted by a temporary accord which is to reopen the French market to American goods.

One little cloud on the horizon which has for some time given concern to the Government, but is as yet not very ominous, is the problem of Alsace-Lorraine—or, rather, the Alsatian problem. France used to boast rightly that she had no irredentist problem in her national politics, different in this respect from Germany, England, Austria, Russia and even Spain. But now comes the Alsatian question, which seems to present some of the disquieting features, if not of irredentism, at least of a sort of autonomist agitation. To be sure, just now autonomy has no parliamentary expression, except in so far as one Communist representative in the Chamber of Deputies may be considered a spokesman for almost anything of a disruptive nature.

The movement, which had been brewing for some time, took form at first on May 24, 1926, when a group of Alsations met in Strasbourg, formed a league under the name of "*Heimatbund*" (Home League) of Alsace-Lorraine, and published a manifesto asking for complete autonomy within the framework of the French State. This manifesto was signed by a group of minor notabilities, thirty of whom occupied public functions, and were, for that reason, disciplined by the Government. This *Heimatbund* was, in addition, supported by a weekly paper called *Die Zukunft*, some scurrilous dailies, and a few erratic personalities. But that is as far as it went.

Now, with the proximity of the general elections, this league has become a regular party. On Sept. 25 of this year, under the leadership of a Dr. Roos, who was once an officer in the German army and who became later Secretary General of the *Heimat-*

bund, it was formally organized and took the name of "Autonomist Party of Alsace-Lorraine." It is to be known for short as the A. P.

In the platform published a few days later (*Le Temps*, Oct. 1), the new party disclaimed all separatist intentions and all hostility against France. It aims, however, at the formation of an autonomous State having for its ambition to serve as mediator between France and Germany. Among its demands figure the maintenance of the German language as the language having priority in official life, French to be taught in the schools as a foreign tongue only; the predominance of native Alsations in all commanding offices; the return of the railroads and of the postoffice to local control; the vesting of the executive power in the hands of Alsations; the revision of all judicial decisions rendered since the Armistice by the French tribunals; the reform of the fiscal régime and the vote for women.

This bold, some would say impudent, platform has been received in Paris with scorn and indignation. "We will not stoop to discuss the articles of this separatist program drafted by some retired German officers and by a few Alsations without influence nor mandate," said the *Temps* of Oct. 3. Yet there is something symptomatic in the fact that these autonomists, who previously had engaged in only a few unsuccessful electoral skirmishes, should have suddenly come out with a regular battle formation. The question arises: How could such a party appear in patriotic and loyal Alsace-Lorraine, whose fidelity to France during the forty-four years of the German régime was the wonder of Europe?

We may ignore the first explanation given by the French papers which point to the use of German money to subsidize a few anti-French publications and groups. Not that this is unlikely. Many of the Germans expelled after the Armistice have good reasons for not feeling very friendly toward the country which uprooted them. But that explains little, for no amount of gold could make the Flemish or the Bretons or even the Basques disloyal to France. Another reason, given by ex-Senator General Taufflieb, is more impressive. Not merely has Germany left behind her a great many institutions and habits, but some 75,000 Germans have become, through their marriage with Alsations, French voters, and not very loyal French voters, as one might guess. But these facts do not account for the undoubted disaffection to be detected among some authentic natives who have



While Briand in Geneva is raving about his peace-loving little Marianne, she is in the arms of her old friend, the militarist.
—*Kladderadatsch*, Berlin

joined the *Heimatbund* and the new A. P.

This disaffection can be easily accounted for by the inevitable post-war disappointments of an economic and fiscal nature, as well as by the mistakes and blunders of minor French officials, who were at times both inexperienced and tactless in their relations with their constituents and aroused thus much bitterness. Then there was the language question. The Alsations, 90 per cent. of whom speak Alsatian, resented the subordinate place given, in schools as well as in official life, to their mother tongue. And last comes the religious grievance. The religious passions, which are very lively in a country where the two confessions live side by side (the Catholics, however, being more than half again more numerous than the Protestants), have been much played upon by partisans, to the disadvantage of the new régime. This was very evident at the time of the Herriot ministry. It happened again recently when the Government of M. Poincaré was held responsible for the replacement of an ecclesiastical teacher of a public school by a secular one, a simple routine appointment in keeping with all precedents and all legislation, both German and French, and for which alone the municipality of Strasbourg was responsible.

In truth, while the French and Alsatian Radical Party is not overenthusiastic about

a religious *modus vivendi* that gives the Alsations a favored régime that even the Weimar Constitution would not grant them if they were German citizens, the French Government has been very cautious and considerate in the handling of this problem.

The various causes for discontent, inevitable in a country notoriously hard to please and during a period of difficult moral and material adjustments, are easily exploited by naturally hostile Germans and by a few disgruntled Alsations. But they are not likely to upset the electoral map of the country. They hardly affected the Senatorial elections of last January, and are not likely to affect the loyalism of the masses, which remain ardently pro-French, as some German observers have often testified, and as the receptions recently accorded to M. Poincaré and M. Tardieu have shown decisively.

EVENTS IN BELGIUM

BELGIUM—The military organization remains the most pressing problem before the Belgian nation. It seems to resolve itself into the conciliation of two conflicting, if not contradictory, necessities; on the one hand, the need for security, which haunts all the neighbors of the Reich; on the other, the desire for a reduced term of military service. Security calls for a well-protected Eastern frontier and cadres of officers sufficient in number to man the troops. That is the main concern of the Minister of War, M. de Broqueville; of M. Jaspar, the Pre-

mier, and of King Albert. M. de Broqueville has not yet revealed his projects, but the King and the Premier have both expressed their views about the matter. In a speech to delegates of the Chamber and the Senate, on their visit to offer congratulations on the birth of the Princess Josephine Charlotte, the King voiced, at the beginning of October, his hope that "our legislators will have at heart the task of endowing Belgium with a defensive organization that will finally assure that security and integrity of our territory for the maintenance of which * * * the head of the State takes a solemn oath."

On the other hand, the Socialists are concerned with the reduction of the term of military service to six months. M. Vandervelde is committed to that measure, which obviously touches his constituents more than the problem of fortifications.

Speaking at Tournai before Catholic societies, on Oct. 16, M. Jaspar stated as his opinion that no reduction of army service could be considered before all measures of security had been taken and all financial repercussions examined.

The financial situation of the kingdom seemed to have so improved that on Oct. 18 the Council of Ministers felt that a contribution of 1,200,000,000 francs would be sufficient to redeem the bonds on the floating debt which become due in 1928. The law had provided for a contribution of 1,500,000,000 francs. Parliament will have to ratify this reduction, which is apparently justified by the favorable position of the Treasury.

THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES

German Financial Policy and Reparations

By HARRY J. CARMAN

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NO event in recent months has awakened more interest and discussion in German political and industrial circles than did the note of S. Parker Gilbert, Agent General for Reparations Payments, received by the German Government on Oct. 20 and made public on Nov. 6, wherein he sharply criticized certain features of Germany's financial policy.

At the outset Mr. Gilbert made three

things very clear. First, that whatever criticisms he might offer would be made in a most friendly spirit and were intended to be helpful to both Germany and her creditors; second, that he accepted at full value Germany's oft repeated assurance to do all in her power to fulfill her obligations under the Dawes plan, and, third, that he assumed that the general aim of Germany, as of every other modern industrial State, was to

develop continuously her industry and commerce with a view to raising the standard of living of her people. In this connection he frankly stated that the development of any nation's industry and commerce required a steady supply of new capital to be derived from savings at home or borrowings abroad, and that in Germany's case not only was there need for new capital but for the rebuilding of the old fluid capital destroyed by the World War or lost by inflation. Germany, he declared, had therefore a special incentive to save, to exercise caution in her expenditures.

It is the body of the memorandum, however, that chiefly concerns us. Here Mr. Gilbert asserted that on the basis of recent developments there were evidences on every hand that the German public authorities instead of economizing were "developing and executing constantly enlarging programs of expenditures and of borrowings," which not only jeopardized the fulfillment of the Dawes plan but the whole economic structure of the Reich. Specifically, his main criticisms were:

1. Overloading and unbalancing the budget with items of expense which might, for the time being at least, have been omitted without detriment to the welfare of the Reich. The particular items referred to were pensions and increased salaries for Government officials, compensation for German citizens whose property had been confiscated during the World War and expenditures connected with the proposed new school law.

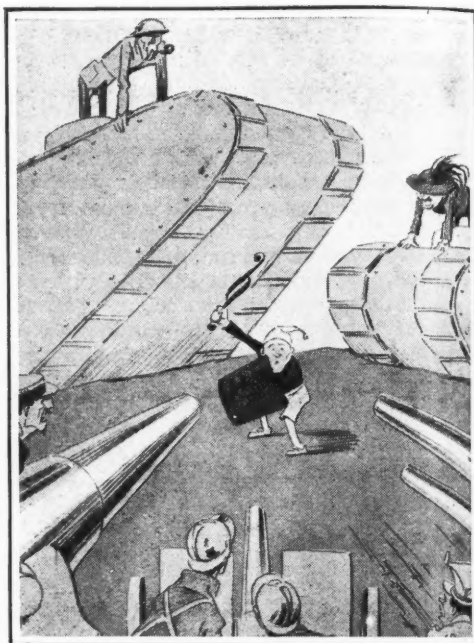
2. Increasing grants in aid made by the Treasury of the Reich to the separate States and communes. In this connection Mr. Gilbert severely criticized the present German tax system and the uncontrolled system of State and communal expenditures and loans.

3. Undue expansion of credit which the Reichsbank had already endeavored to check by successive increases in the bank rate after uncontrolled expansion had led to a rise in the cost of production and to an excess inflow of imports.

4. The adoption of financial measures which would operate to increase the cost of production and the cost of living.

By way of conclusion the Agent General frankly declared that if these financial tendencies so much in evidence were allowed to continue unchecked two results would almost inevitably follow—namely, economic disaster for Germany and the general impression abroad that she regarded her repatriation obligations lightly.

The German Government, replying to the



Germany's new weapon (Article VIII of the Versailles Treaty, providing for disarmament), before which the Entente trembles.
—*Kladderadatsch, Berlin*

memorandum in good temper, first of all agreed with Mr. Gilbert that the Government should do all in its power to develop the productive sources of the Reich to full capacity, and this, it asserted, was exactly what was being done. The improvement in the economic situation achieved since the stabilization of the mark, it declared, proved beyond any doubt that the loans obtained by Germany at home and abroad had been rationally employed. It admitted that increased imports of raw materials and food-stuffs had followed the foreign loans, but added that every effort was being made to reduce the excess of imports over exports. Germany, the reply stated, had been able to increase her exports steadily since stabilization from the monthly average of 428,000,000 marks in 1924 to 550,000,000 in 1925, 612,000,000 in 1926 and 617,000,000 from January to September of 1927. Of the last figure 502,000,000 consisted of finished wares. While admitting that expansion in some activities may have been too rapid, the Government decried any fear of crises. In this connection it asserted that neither taxation nor domestic loans could create new purchasing power and that foreign loans had not given an unhealthful impulse

when compared with the total value of German savings. The Government, the reply continued, viewed with serious concern the increase in tariffs in some of the countries where German goods were sold, "since only a lowering of the existing barriers can assure to Germany the export excess necessary to meet her payments."

The Government countered sharply on the Agent General's complaint of the measure for indemnifying German nationals for property lost abroad. This measure, it retorted, was wholly in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, which relieved the liquidating countries of the duty of making compensations and shouldered Germany with the obligation. The costs of the proposed school law would, the Government said, play no rôle whatever in the near future, and as for the salary increases, "some regard must be had for political considerations." The reply concluded with the renewed pledge that the Government would continue to do its best to maintain a balanced budget and honorably live up to its international obligations.

The German public, having been led to believe that the memorandum contained only a mild warning, was surprised and even shocked by its content. Some, including the Democratic leader, Georg Bernhard, declared that the note was un-American in policy and that it had been written at the request of the German Government. Others characterized it as unfair and erroneous; still others labeled it as an attack on the sovereignty of the German Republic.

To the disinterested observer, however, it is clear that Mr. Gilbert neither infringed on German sovereignty nor had any intention so to do. For many months he had watched with apprehension Germany's mounting volume of foreign loans, realizing that unless a halt was called sooner or later Germany would be threatened with a recurrence of currency ills and inflation. In 1924, the year in which the Dawes plan went into effect, Germany borrowed from abroad a total of \$250,000,000, of which \$240,000,000 represented what was popularly known as the Dawes loan. In the following year her foreign loans amounted to \$313,725,000 and in 1926 they rose to \$422,525,000. Her loans for the single month of July, 1927, reached \$108,000,000. In all, her foreign loans from the time when the Dawes plan began to function until the first of August, 1927, total \$1,172,675,000. This figure includes loans to the Reich, to States, municipalities, public utility companies, private firms and church organizations. Conservative esti-

mates credit 70 per cent. of the total amount of foreign loans to American investors. Mr. Gilbert fully realized that an economic crisis in Germany would mean that she would be unable in all probability to meet her reparation obligations. He was fully cognizant of the fact that unrestricted borrowing from American investors might reasonably lead to a conflict over the question of whether reparation payments are to have precedence over the claims of Germany's American creditors. While no one doubts that Germany needs a certain amount of foreign capital, no one acquainted with the situation can honestly question Mr. Gilbert's motive or doubt that he is meticulously performing his duty.

Germany's reply, while perhaps not entirely satisfactory to those who regard the Dawes scheme as sacrosanct, was, nevertheless, far from weak. The Government frankly admitted that the financial arrangement between the Reich on the one hand and the States and communes on the other was not as it should be, but averred that steps had already been taken to remedy it. It was clearly right in its position regarding reimbursement of its nationals, and, so far as one can judge, it placed its cards on the table in respect to its other expenditures.

Saddled with an enormous financial obligation, which the great majority of Germans, irrespective of what they may say outwardly, believe in their hearts to be unjust, with her liquid resources wiped out, anxious to win an economic place in the sun and regain her lost prestige, Germany feels that she must have foreign loans to stimulate her industry and trade. In this connection it may be of interest to note that the three Dawes annuities paid by Germany to date total \$930,000,000, so that actually her foreign loans during the three years' operation of the Dawes plan exceeded her reparation payments by \$242,675,000. In other words, Germany has paid her reparations to the Allies with foreign gold, most of which came from America. All things considered, it is difficult to see how the Reich Government could have framed a more satisfactory reply.

Long before the Gilbert memorandum had been made public Dr. Schacht, President of the Reichsbank, began to wage a vigorous campaign in favor of checking the enormous inflow of foreign credits. As a result it was announced on Nov. 4 that thereafter control of loans by the Reich Government would be increased by the reorganization of the Advisory Board on Foreign Loans and by creation of a second body which would

render final decision in case of appeal. The new advisory board consists of experts appointed by the Reich Finance and Economic Ministers, the Board of Directors of the Reichsbank, the Presidents of the Prussian and Bavarian State banks and one representative of any State desiring a loan. The appeals section also consists of financial experts, but additional and dominating members are the Ministers of Finance and of Economics and the Reichsbank President.

Objections to the decisions of the advisory board may be raised not only by States refused permission to negotiate loans, but also in case of a favorable decision by an objecting minority. A majority vote is to decide every case, but the discussion in committee and the ballots will be kept strictly secret. The principal points of the new regulations with regard to direct foreign credits to States and municipalities are: Foreign loans are permissible only if warranted by economic conditions, the highest annual payments fixed by the advisory board must not be overstepped and credits shall serve only the purposes of the borrower and shall remain untransferable; loans must serve production purposes yielding sufficient revenues for interest and amortization.

During the month under review Germany has been the scene of two serious labor disturbances. The first occurred in the lignite industry, when, on Oct. 16, 80,000 miners ceased work after the employers had refused a 15 per cent. wage increase based on the recent increase in living costs. The workers also demanded that part of the enormous middlemen's profits go to the workers. Lignite mined and delivered in Berlin for \$5.20 a ton, for instance, sells to the public for \$9 a ton. After a week's negotiation Minister of Labor Brauns decreed that the decision of the Arbitration Court on the miners' strike was mandatory. The union leaders and the owners therefore had to accept the proposals of the arbitrators giving the miners an 11½ per cent. increase.

The second disturbance occurred early in November, when 40,000 tobacco workers in Hamburg, Bremen, Westphalia and Mannheim went on strike in protest against an announcement by the Tobacco Manufacturers' Association that a general lockout, involving 120,000 employes, would become effective on Nov. 12.

The compulsory unemployment insurance law, enacted by the Reichstag last July, became effective on Oct. 1. The new law covers about 16,000,000 German workers.

The Socialists scored notable victories in two local elections held early in October. In Hamburg the Socialists gained ten seats and the Communists three at the expense of Democrats, Nationalists and the Volkspartei, while in Koenigsburg the Socialists nearly doubled their previous votes.

AUSTRIA—The Austrian Socialist Party in the election for the National Army Trustees suffered a significant defeat in the most important contest since the Communist revolt of last July. The anti-Socialists elected 132 Trustees against 120 Socialists, reversing last year's results, in which the Socialists held 202 Trustees against the anti-Socialists' 61. The system of electing two Trustees from each company, who are responsible for mess arrangements, punishment, funds, and so forth, is patterned after the Bolshevik army principles and was instituted in Austria when the Socialists controlled the national Government. It has never been abandoned and the Council of Trustees has continued to exert considerable political influence within the army by its prerogatives in allotting punishment and distributing bounties. This is the first time the anti-Socialists have held a majority.

The elections among the Vienna police and rural gendarmerie resulted also in effective defeats for the Socialists, who, however, were in a minority last year.

An agreement between the Socialist City Government of Vienna and Austrian banking houses guaranteeing payment of trade contracts made by Viennese firms with the Soviet was signed on Oct. 11 after several weeks of negotiations.

HOLLAND—Continued improvement in Netherlands finances and indications that the tax burden would be somewhat relieved were shown in the 1928 budget. General business during September and October showed further improvement and reflected the spirit of confidence that had been slowly growing. Industrial and trading conditions for the most part were good.

SWITZERLAND—The Swiss Federal Council on Oct. 25 decided to impose new tariffs on automobiles imported after Nov. 1. The new rates seriously affect American manufacturers, who now supply nearly 40 per cent. of all motor cars sold each year in Switzerland.

The Roman Question and Fascism

By ELOISE ELLERY

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THE discussion of the so-called "Roman question" was much to the fore during the last month. The occasion of its coming to the front at this particular time is, however, not altogether clear, and the seriousness with which the discussion is to be taken is a matter about which there is room for difference of opinion.

The "Roman question" is part of a larger problem which has existed for centuries and which goes back to the time when the Popes ruled as temporal sovereigns over a large part of central Italy known as the Papal States. But in its present form it dates from 1870, when the Italian Government, already in control of a large part of this territory, took possession also of the City of Rome. The relations between the Government and the Pope were regulated the following year by the Law of Guarantees, whereby the new monarchy gave to the Pope considerable freedom. The Pope was accorded sovereign rights, including the inviolability of his own person, and the right to receive and to send ambassadors, to maintain a police force, and to establish postal and telegraph offices. He was also to have undisturbed tenure of the Vatican and Lateran buildings and gardens, and the villa of Castel Gondolfo. He was further assigned a revenue of 3,225,000 lire annually (over \$625,000). In other words, the Popes enjoyed the right of extraterritoriality. What, then, it may be asked, is the object of the present controversy if the Pope is already a sovereign? The point is that the Law of Guarantees is a simple law of the Italian kingdom rather than an international agreement; that, though the Apostolic Palaces do, to all intents and purposes, constitute an independent State, yet the arrangement under which they are held is unilateral and they are held by virtue of an act of an Italian Parliament. Pius IX, who was Pope at the time the Italian troops marched into Rome, condemned the law as despoiling "God's vicar" of his lands and his freedom, proclaimed himself as the "prisoner of the Vatican" and refused to accept the subsidy from the royal treasury. This has been the attitude of the "prisoners

of the Vatican" from 1870 to the present time.

The recent outburst of controversy on the subject seems to have come from the *Osservatore*, the organ of the Vatican, which in commenting on an article on the "Roman question" by Senator Gentile, the former Minister of Public Instruction, declared that the Papacy should have real independence. "Italy destroyed the state of things which had been built up through centuries," argued the *Osservatore*,

therefore she alone can restore it. She can restore it, if not in its former proportions, at least in a measure necessary to guarantee the visible independence of our government of souls. Italy can restore it without committing suicide, because we do not see how our tiny State could ever destroy Italy.

Continuing the argument the next day, the *Osservatore* set forth its claims more precisely as follows:

The solution of the Roman question must, therefore, be such that the independence of the Pope appears evident to Catholics of the whole world. This does not mean that the Catholics of the whole world must be the judges of the solution. No, the Pope is the only judge. He alone, by Divine wish, is head of the Church and supreme master of the faithful. Therefore, he alone must decide about the conditions of liberty and independence, and also about the guarantees necessary to satisfy Catholics of the whole world.

For the present, only one method exists for avoiding such suspicions and dangers of schisms. As long as the Pope resides in territory which does not belong to him in the territory of another Power, the only possible remedy is open, clear and universally known hostility.

Absolute necessities of a religious nature render it necessary for the Pope to be in a condition of liberty and independence, not only real and perfect, but also manifest to the faithful of the whole world.

Till this has been obtained in such a way as to satisfy the Pontiff, the same absolute necessities of a religious nature render it necessary for the Holy See to maintain the state of hostility created in 1870.

In answer to these arguments the *Foglio d'Ordini*, the official organ of the Fascist Party, declared in no uncertain terms that for Fascist Italy a restoration, even in the most reduced form, of the temporal power which ceased in 1870 would be out of the

question. At the same time it left a loophole for further discussion.

In the course of these debates various tangible plans were suggested, which included: (1) Investing the Papacy with full ownership of the Apostolic Palaces by bilateral agreement; (2) extending the possessions of the Popes so as to take in the so-called Leonine City—that is, the part of Rome on the far side of the Tiber between St. Peter's and the Castel St. Angelo; (3) the cession to the Papacy of a strip of territory between the Vatican and the sea forming a corridor permitting access to the Vatican from the outside world without passing through Italian territory. If the Italian Government regards the first as impossible, its attitude toward the other two needs no comment.

Just what is back of this sudden outbreak of controversy on the subject is not apparent on the surface, nor how much weight should be attached to it. There has been the opinion among many Catholics that if the Pope again became a temporal power the Vatican would lose much of its prestige and come to be regarded as an Italian rather than an international authority. Moreover, it is no secret that the hostility in times past between Quirinal and Vatican has been much less acute in reality than in appearance. At all events, the present controversy appears to have subsided without leading to any definite steps toward settlement. Its outcome, however, according to Fascist interpretation, has been to encourage a belief in the ultimate solution of the problem.

A difficult problem in international affairs is connected with Italy's recent action in regard to Tangier. An Italian squadron made a visit to that port under circumstances which are interpreted as giving it a special significance. Tangier, whose position at the entrance to the Mediterranean makes it internationally important, is at present governed under an international commission, but its status is not satisfactory. France and Spain have been at odds over the agreement made in 1923, and Italy refused to take part in the mixed tribunals which form part of the governmental system because she was not consulted in their creation. Negotiations were about to open at Paris on this matter between France and Spain when Italy sent a naval mission to Tangier ostensibly to take part in the inauguration of an Italian school. The choice of this particular moment, coupled with the fact that it coincided with the anniversary of the march on Rome—the advent of Fas-

cism—and carried out with much Fascist pomp and circumstance, not to mention the obvious comparison with the visit of the Kaiser to Tangier in 1905, aroused much irritation in the French press. This was not allayed by the tone of the Italian press, from which it is to be gathered that Italy meant the visit as a notification in deeds if not in words that she considers herself vitally concerned in the status of the Tangier zone. The matter is further complicated by agreements between Rome and Paris, dating back to 1901 and 1902, by which France agreed to Italy's aspirations in regard to Tripoli, and Italy recognized France's special interests in Morocco. A further agreement of somewhat like tenor in 1912 adds to the difficulty, especially as France now contends that Morocco means all Morocco, including the Tangier zone. On the other hand, it is reported that the British Government sympathizes with Italy and recognizes her right to share in the reorganization of the international administration of Tangier.

Within Italy, as well as without, the celebrations of the Fascist anniversary, in accordance with Mussolini's instructions to emphasize deeds rather than words, were concerned chiefly with the dedication of public works, including a new automobile speedway from Milan to Bergamo and the new Rome-Naples railway, which makes possible the journey in less than three hours. The Victor Emmanuel monument, begun more than thirty years ago, was also finished and two notable works were begun—a vehicular tunnel under the Capitol and a new automobile road from Rome to Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber. These ceremonies took place on Sunday, carrying out Mussolini's policy of not allowing the citizens to be distracted from their daily work. After Armistice Day, according to a Cabinet decree, there are to be no further "ceremonies, manifestations, celebrations, inaugurations, anniversaries and centenaries, either large or small, nor speeches of whatever caliber."

Progress in the repression of crime and lawlessness is reported from Sicily, where a drive is being carried on against Mafia leaders. Witnesses, no longer in danger of reprisals from criminals, are now willing to come forward and testify and country districts are becoming safe. On the other hand, reports come from various parts of Italy of repression of freedom of speech, and of prisons crowded with opponents of Fascism.

Drastic proposals for Parliamentary reform were laid down by the Fascist Grand

Council on Nov. 11. The plan suppresses universal suffrage, restricting the vote to members of the Fascist guilds and certain other classes of producers; only one ticket—representative of the Fascist Party—will be presented to these voters.

SPAIN—The Spanish National Assembly met on Oct. 10, the first to be held since the dissolution of the old Parliament in 1923. That it is not in any sense a reconvening of this former body is emphasized by the fact that the name "Cortez" has been taken off the building where it is housed and the words "National Assembly" inscribed instead. But as to whether it is to be regarded as a step back to the régime of constitutional government or merely a strengthening of the dictatorship opinion is divided. This Assembly at least has only consultative power.

The decree summoning it provides that legislation is to be initiated by the Government. After debate the Assembly will return the proposed measures to the Ministry with its suggestions, which the Ministry may accept or reject as it sees fit. As narrated in November CURRENT HISTORY, the 400 members were selected by the Government either directly or indirectly. They include high officials, both civil and military; ex-Deputies and Senators, representatives of universities and of provincial and municipal bodies. Persons from all parties were invited, including those of the extreme Right and the extreme Left. The Socialists, however, to whom a few seats had been given, refused participation on the ground that the formation of the Assembly was merely an attempt to give legal form to what was really illegal. The total number of resignations was about forty.

Subjects already brought up by questions presented from the Deputies include emigration, aid for industrial workers, and modifications in secondary education. If the Assembly be judged by the first law which it framed, it has shown itself decidedly reactionary. This law deals with extradition, and its effect in connection with emigration laws would be to make it practically impossible for enemies of the present régime to find refuge abroad.

Besides framing laws, the Assembly has as its main task the drawing up of a Constitution. This Constitution, according to the plan recommended by Primo de Rivera, should be very short, merely setting forth the principles of the Spanish régime and

leaving the details to be fixed by laws. The legislature should consist of only one body and should be partly permanent and partly elected on the basis of Government nominations. This plan is in marked contrast to the Constitution which was the basis of the Spanish monarchy up to 1923 and which explicitly divided the sovereignty between monarch and people. It also would create a legislative body of one house instead of two and would contain no provision for freedom of the press, speech and meeting and no guarantee against arbitrary arrest. Incidentally, the members of the committee of the Assembly to which has been entrusted the working out of the draft of the Constitution are all conservatives.

That there is opposition to the present régime is obvious, but the extent of the opposition is difficult to determine owing to the rigorous censorship. There are the usual chronic rumors of plots to establish an independent Catalan republic and of attempts to overthrow the monarchy. A recent so-called plot directed against the lives of the King and Primo de Rivera was later reported as an arrangement with the police to enable them to control undesirable.

PORTUGAL—Marshal Gomes da Costa, the last constitutional holder of the Presidency of the Portuguese Republic, has been invited to return from exile by the military directorate which is at present ruling the country. He has been in exile since the Summer of 1926, when the Government was taken over by General Carmona and a Cabinet almost entirely composed of military men. The reason for this invitation to Da Costa, issued by the very men who turned him out, appears to be connected with the financial situation. The present Government is trying to negotiate a foreign loan, and the point is that when he was exiled the Marshal did not formally transfer his powers as President to his *de facto* successor. A loan therefore made under a Government which its opponents declare illegal might later be repudiated. In fact, many of these exiled opponents are trying to embarrass the present Government in securing a loan by declaring that this is exactly what they would see to it would happen when they return to power. Under the circumstances, it seems not undesirable in seeking a loan to associate the *de facto* and the *de jure* heads of the Government in responsibility.

The Unsettled Balkans

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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"EUROPE is in constant danger of another explosion, which no League of Nations can check." So declared Austria's leading newspaper, the *Vienna Neue Freie Presse*, on the morning following the assassination, Oct. 14, of the Albanian Minister to Czechoslovakia; and expressions of like forebodings, dating from the past few weeks, could be cited from plenty of other sources—newspapers, officials and private observers. It is, therefore, gratifying to record that, to the present hour, no one of the several untoward events in that troubled quarter has actually led to complications more serious than others that have been successfully straightened out on scores of earlier occasions.

The main danger arising from the murder of the Albanian envoy was that something should come to light tending to show that the misguided youth who committed the crime had been prompted to the deed by high political authority. The victim, Tsena Bey Kryezin, was a brother-in-law of the Albanian President, Ahmed Zogu, and was widely known for his dislike of Italy, his advocacy of the principle "The Balkans for the Balkan peoples," and his friendship for Yugoslavia. He had bitterly opposed the treaty of Tirana, which put his country in a sort of tutelage to Italy, and on that issue had been decidedly at outs with his Presidential brother-in-law until of late, when a partial reconciliation had been effected and he had been sent off to Prague, where he would be somewhat removed from the theatre of controversy. The assassin, Agiviadh Bebi, was an Albanian student at Rome, who, when arrested, coolly gave as his reason for the act his belief that Tsena Bey wanted "to sell Albania to Yugoslavia."

The crime stirred strong feeling among Ahmed Zogu's enemies in Albania, who charged the President with having had something to do with the deed, and broke into a revolt which was quelled with difficulty; also in Yugoslavia, where the press almost unanimously construed the act as a challenge to that country, and in more than one instance insinuated that it was encouraged from Italy, if not indeed di-

rectly instigated by Mussolini himself. The murderer, however, insisted that he had acted on his own initiative, and all effort to fix responsibility on either Albanian or Italian authorities came to naught. The net effect, however, was certainly not to alleviate a situation, both as between the rival factions in Albania and as between Yugoslavia and Italy, which has long been exceedingly tense.

Even more threatening throughout the month were the strained relations between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, arising out of the continued depredations of the Komitadji. As is generally known, the Komitadji are the members and supporters of the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee, who, since the war, have been bending every effort toward the liberation of former Bulgarian Macedonia from Yugoslavia and Greece. They have conducted repeated organized invasions of those countries, pillaging as they went, and when pursued retiring to the mountains in Bulgaria, which are their headquarters. They have also, especially of late, resorted to isolated bombings and assassinations, blowing up a hotel at Salonica, wrecking a train near Guevheli, and finally murdering a Serbian General at Istip. War has been started in the Balkans in the past on far more slender grounds than those afforded by the repeated crises for which these marauders have been responsible.

The Belgrade and Sofia Governments, while frequently drawn into ardent discussion of the matter, have generally showed an encouraging degree of forbearance, and efforts toward a permanently friendlier relation between the two countries have lately been one of the most hopeful aspects of Balkan politics. The danger has been, however, that jingoistic groups and organizations, in one State or the other, would get the upper hand and force a situation in which war would be unavoidable. At every reported incursion on Yugoslav soil sections of the national press demanded instant invasion of Bulgaria. To complicate matters still further, it was freely charged that Italy was backing the Komitadji financially and with arms, with the object of stirring up another war in the Bal-

kans and strengthening her hold in that quarter.

More than once intervention by the League of Nations, on the lines successfully employed in the late quarrel between Bulgaria and Greece, has been suggested. Neither Great Britain nor France, however, has cared to see this take place if any other mode of adjusting the difficulty could be found. Great Britain, in particular, on account of her relations with Italy, would dislike to see such a general threshing out of the Balkan situation at Geneva, as would almost certainly be entailed if the League were to take up the problem at all. Accordingly, early in October, after Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Briand had conferred, instructions were sent concurrently to the British and French Ministers at Sofia asking them to point out to the Bulgarian Government the advisability not only of giving a satisfactory reply to a new Yugoslav note demanding suppression of the Komitadji but of taking steps to assure Belgrade against a repetition of raids across the Macedonian frontier into Yugoslavia.

How much influence is to be attributed to the Anglo-French suggestions is uncertain, but in any case the reply made by Bulgaria on Oct. 11 was of such tenor as to be accepted by the Belgrade Government as satisfactory. Martial law was declared in the districts of Kustendil and Petrich, on the Yugoslav frontier; courts-martial were set up to deal with potential offend-

ers, and several companies of troops were sent to the region to keep order and prevent any bands crossing the frontier from either side. The reply and the precautions taken made a very favorable impression in Yugoslavia, though the Liaptchev Cabinet at Sofia was roundly attacked in Macedonian and Nationalist circles, and at one time seemed likely to be forced out. In the columns of the Belgrade *Politika* the Bulgarian Foreign Minister, M. Burov, declared that the Bulgarian Government and people strongly condemned the Macedonian crimes and desired harmony between Yugoslavia and themselves; and in the *Sobranje*, on Oct. 18, the Premier said, alluding to the Komitadji outrages, "Nothing could be more disastrous or more dangerous for the Bulgarian State and the entire Bulgarian nation than these actions, which are the actions of madmen."

Notwithstanding all precautions, however, a Macedonian band was reported, on Oct. 17, to have crossed the frontier and attacked the Yugoslav ammunition depot at Kraljevica; and a week later the Belgrade Government found reason to protest to Tirana on the score that Bulgarian irregulars had entered Yugoslav territory from South Albania. As these episodes suggest, the Macedonian problem is by no means solved. More than that, dispassionate students of the subject are unable to see how it can ever be solved to the permanent satisfaction of all parties concerned.

OTHER EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

RUMANIA—For two weeks Rumania was prominent in the foreign dispatches, although it was significant that most of the communications came from Paris, Belgrade or Vienna, rather than from Bucharest. The reports were that a plot was on foot to overthrow the Regency and place Prince Carol on the throne; that the Prince had severed relations with Mme. Lupescu and was holding himself in readiness to return to his country, and that, with a view to forestalling the Peasant Party's Carolist efforts, Premier Bratiano had offered to relinquish his present office and take the portfolio of Foreign Affairs in a new Cabinet.

For all of this there was a basis of fact, although fancy considerably overtopped fact in many of the published reports. There is in Rumania strong opposition, particularly in the Peasant Party, to the rule of the Regency, and especially to the power wielded

by M. Bratiano. The fourteen years before King Michael can wear the crown are looked upon as a dark prospect. It would be better, it is urged, to overlook Prince Carol's escapades and welcome him to the throne in the place of his young son. The Prince himself has kept in close touch with the situation, has held interviews with deputations from his supporters, and, whether or not for purely political reasons, is quite definitely understood to have brought his affair with his latest enchantress to an end.

Furthermore, on Oct. 25, just as the sixth birthday of the boy King was being celebrated, M. Manoilescu, Under-Secretary of Finance in the late Averescu Government, was arrested at the frontier on a charge of serving as a go-between for Carol and his supporters, and martial law was proclaimed throughout the country. Official statements of the Government denied that there was

any Carolist "movement," but admitted that Prince Carol had tried to send proposals to the party leaders which were tantamount to a direct attack on the constitutional order and the safety of the State. The Prince himself, indeed, on hearing of his emissary's arrest, gave out what purported to be complete and accurate copies of the letters, suggesting chiefly that the dynastic question be reopened by means of a referendum, in which the nation as a whole should indicate what change, if any, it wanted to see made. To press representatives he unhesitatingly declared: "I wait for my hour to sound." M. Manoilescu went on trial before a court-martial on Nov. 10. He asserted that Prince Carol was seeking membership in the Regency, not the throne, and bitterly attacked the Bratiano régime as driving the country toward a republic. On Nov. 15 he was acquitted.

Meanwhile the situation was thrown into further confusion by the outbreak of a bitter quarrel between Premier Bratiano and the Regency Council over appointments and sundry other matters. The Council is, of course, the Premier's own handwork, but he seems to have found it considerably less docile than expected, and he is reported to have threatened to rid himself not only of it but of the family troubles of the dynasty by proclaiming a republic. On the whole, however, the Premier-dictator, notwithstanding stronger opposition than he has been accustomed to encounter, seems to have a firm grip on the situation. If his own statements, made in the first week of November, are to be accepted at face value, the Opposition Party leaders have promised to remain strictly within the law.

POLAND—Two interesting events during the month were the dissolution of Parliament and the completion of arrangements

for a stabilization loan. The former was brought about by the cavalier methods to which the Pilsudski dictatorship has more or less accustomed the country. On Oct. 20 members of the Sejm arriving at Warsaw to resume an extraordinary session already once interrupted by Presidential order found another message on locked doors to the effect that the session had been adjourned *sine die*. The Constitution requires a session before Nov. 1, to receive and pass the budget for the ensuing year. This session was duly begun on Oct. 31 and the budget was presented. On Nov. 3, however, before any business had been transacted and before the Opposition could launch its intended budget attack, the body was again adjourned, this time until Nov. 28, when the term of the Deputies expires. The nation was thus left without a budget for the coming year, although the President is authorized to extend the past year's estimates until the new Parliament can take action. Already the campaign was under way; but many people doubted whether the dictator, who has steadily grown more unable and unwilling to deal with Parliament on any basis, would allow the elections to continue.

The stabilization loan is the result of negotiations started as long ago as January, 1926. The amount is \$72,000,000, of which \$47,000,000 is to be offered in the United States and the remainder, in varying proportions, in half a dozen European countries. The loan's object is to consolidate and perpetuate the monetary and budget stability which the country has already achieved, and under the plan agreed upon the tax system will be extensively overhauled. In the disbursement of the proceeds an American expert, Mr. Charles S. Dewey, recently Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, will act as adviser, with large powers, for a period of three years.

NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

Ten Years of Finnish Statehood

By MILTON OFFUTT

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ON Dec. 6, 1927, the youngest member of the family of Scandinavian nations, the Republic of Finland, completed the first decade of its existence as a sovereign State. Since the day in 1917 on

which a Finnish Diet proclaimed the independence of the country, Finland, faced at the outset with a serious problem in checking the spread of Bolshevism, displayed a remarkable swiftness of development and

stability. The success of Parliamentary government in the new State, considered with an equal success in the other Scandinavian countries, was in marked contrast to political conditions in Southern Europe.

Much of Finland's success at self-government was doubtless due to the fact that, unlike most of the other nations which achieved independence through the last war, Finland had long enjoyed a great measure of home rule and since 1906 had been largely governed by its own legislative assembly elected by universal suffrage. Its laws and institutions, also, had been inherited from an earlier period when Finland was a part of Sweden, and these, as well as its language, had remained unchanged through more than a century of Russian control. This situation was responsible for the fact that when independence was achieved Finland possessed from the outset a body of officials trained in all departments of government except foreign affairs and national defense.

Allowing for this advantage, Finland nevertheless has shown during the past ten years a marked aptitude for healthy national development. Much constructive legislation was enacted, important among which was a series of laws enabling the farmers easily to acquire possession of land. Large tracts of Government-owned land were made available for settlement by those desiring to cultivate new soil, and further legislation made it possible for tenant farmers in many cases to become the owners of the farms they worked.

The financial development of Finland was also remarkable. After the unsettled war years and the heavy drain on the Treasury necessitated by the organization of a national defense force and the suppression of Bolshevism, the nation was able to balance its budget by the end of 1919, and the Treasury report for 1921 indicated a decided surplus. Constructive work continued. Since 1917, 386 miles of new railroad trackage were built; a great hydroelectric plant built about the Imatra Falls was begun and

is expected to deliver power in 1928; large areas of swamp land were drained to make them suitable for farming and the growing of timber.

The money for carrying out this construction work was obtained partly from taxation and partly from foreign credits. Finland's first loan on the New York market was floated in 1923. The rate of the Finnish exchange, which fluctuated widely for a time immediately after the war, was stabilized in 1924 and was put on a gold basis at the beginning of 1926. The currency was stabilized at the prevailing rate, and the monetary unit was maintained at its then low level, with the expectation that as soon as the currency systems of other European countries became fixed a more convenient unit conforming to the unit of those countries would be established.

The increase in wood and wood products exported by Finland was a significant indication of the country's economic development. Dairy products showed an increase of more than 100 per cent. since 1913.

Finnish trade, during the period of her independence, swung away from Russia, with which country most of her export and import trade was carried on before 1917, and established markets in Western Europe and other parts of the world. In 1926, 5 per cent. of her exports came to the United States, and 15 per cent. of her imports were received from this country.

The Cabinet of Ministers changed thirteen times between 1917 and 1927, a satisfactory record for a nation in which there are more than two strong political parties. These changes were usually of no great political significance; many of the members of a succeeding Cabinet had held positions in its predecessor. They were due in most cases to a change in the combinations of Parliamentary groups. Since most of the Cabinets were based on coalitions. Finnish observers pointed out that such a Government by coalitions had been favorable for impartial and constructive action.

OTHER EVENTS IN NORTHERN EUROPE

LITHUANIA—The strange spectacle of a "peaceful" state of war which has existed between Lithuania and Poland for seven years, since the Poles occupied Vilna, the ancient capital of a former Lithuanian State, continued through the month. The strained relations between the two countries became at one time so tense that observers in the European press speculated on the

possibility that the "peaceful war" might be changed to an active conflict.

A report current in Poland that Lithuania had discriminated against the Polish minority in its territory and had closed most of the Polish schools and ill-treated Polish teachers brought swift reprisals. On Oct. 4 the Polish Government caused the arrest of twenty Lithuanians, ten of them priests,

and on the following day ordered closed the forty-five schools maintained by the Lithuanian minority in the Province of Vilna. The visit of Marshal Pilsudsky and a number of Polish Cabinet Ministers to Vilna on Oct. 9 appeared to ease the tension somewhat, as, following Lithuanian denials of discrimination against Polish teachers and schools, Pilsudski obtained the liberation of the imprisoned Lithuanians. The fact, however, that his visit to the former Lithuanian capital occurred on the anniversary of its occupation by the Poles caused ill feeling in Lithuania, where the day was observed as a day of mourning. An indication of the tension between the two nations was the speed with which Poland took measures of reprisal against Lithuanians after receiving unsubstantiated reports of discrimination against Poles. European observers considered that this might have been due to the knowledge that the Lithuanian Government was about to submit to a popular vote a series of amendments to the Constitution, one of which contained an article declaring that Vilna was the capital of Lithuania. At any rate, M. Valdemaras's Government changed its mind about including in the proposed amendments to the Constitution the clause concerning Vilna, and thus removed a source of suspicion and ill will in Poland. The matter of the educational discriminations in Lithuania and Poland was submitted to the consideration of the League of Nations on Oct. 19, when an appeal was made by Lithuania direct to the Council of the League invoking Article XI of the League Covenant, and declaring that Poland had violated the Polish Minority treaty of 1919.

SWEDEN—The Academy of Sciences has decided to award the Nobel Prize for Physics for 1927 to Professor Arthur Compton of Chicago and Professor Charles T. R. Wilson of Cambridge University. Professor Compton, who shares the honors with Professor Wilson, received the award for the discovery of the Compton process. His researches have been devoted largely to X-ray and radio activity. Professor Wilson is awarded his part of the prize for his method of observing electrified particles. The 1926 Nobel Prize for Literature, held over from last year, goes to the Italian writer, Signora Grazia Deledda, the second woman to win this prize. Signora Deledda is a native of Sardinia and has written much fiction based on the bandit and feudist life of her native island. The Nobel Prize for Literature for 1927 has been withheld. The Prize for

Medicine for 1926 has been awarded to Professor Johannes Fibiger of Copenhagen and that for 1927 to Professor Julius Wagner von Jauregg of Vienna.

The "warless" treaty between Sweden and Belgium, which provides for peaceful solution of all possible disputes between the two countries, has now been finally ratified and is, therefore, in force. A revision of the Swedish commercial treaty with Soviet Russia, concluded three years ago, has now been concluded and signed in Moscow.

The unemployment situation, while not actually threatening, remains, nevertheless, a matter of concern to the authorities. Government figures show that some 60,000 people are out of work and that since August, 1926, the total number of unemployed has increased 14 per cent. Peace will prevail on the Swedish labor market for another year, thanks to the continuation of most of the agreements between employers and workmen, involving some 160,000 of the latter. Only a small group, numbering some 23,000, are unfavorably affected by the discontinuation of certain labor contracts. The cost of living has increased in Sweden during the last three months.

The official figures on Swedish imports and exports released on Oct. 27 indicated that for the first time since the war the Swedish balance of trade would be favorable for 1927. The total value of the exports for the first nine months of 1927 was \$308,394,568, and that of imports was \$301,049,972. This gave a favorable balance of \$6,444,596, compared with an unfavorable one of \$32,505,032 for the same period of

DENMARK—An improvement in Danish economic and industrial conditions as well as in foreign trade was shown by the recent official statement of the Danish National Bank of Copenhagen and the statistical department of the Danish Government. The value of agricultural products exported was greater than that for the first nine months of last year, and the exported products brought higher market prices. Bank deposits increased and shipping stocks rose markedly. Unemployment was little changed from that prevailing last year, 16.3 per cent.

NORWAY—A Norwegian general election held on Oct. 17 resulted in considerable gains for the Labor Party. This result, which had been expected, was due to an alliance between the Labor group and the Social Democrats formed at the beginning of this year. Discontent caused by a

period of deflation had weakened the workers' confidence in the Conservative and Liberal groups, and the tax rate in Norway had risen as high as that prevailing in countries which had suffered the burden of the last war. The new Storting contains fifty-nine Labor members, as compared with thirty-four in the former body. The gains were made chiefly at the expense of the Conservatives and Liberal Left. The total membership of the Storting is 150.

ESTONIA—The former Estonian Foreign Minister, M. Birk, who recently served as Minister to Moscow, was tried at Reval on Nov. 4 for treason. The charge was

founded largely upon the appearance in *Izvestiya*, the official Soviet newspaper, of articles attacking the Estonian Government. It was further alleged that M. Birk had fallen in love with his secretary, who was employed by the Soviet secret police; that he had lost an important document and had therefore been recalled from his post; that he had refused to leave Russia and had disappeared, and that the articles attacking Estonia had followed. M. Birk was acquitted after he had told the court a strange story of being kidnapped by the OGPU, or secret police of Russia, and forced to sign the articles, which, he said, he had never seen.

THE SOVIET UNION

Crisis in the Struggle Between Trotsky and Stalin

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THE struggle between Stalin and Trotsky, the two outstanding Bolshevik leaders since the death of Lenin, has entered its most acute and perhaps its final phase. From recent events one is led to believe that Trotsky must either surrender to Stalin or defy the Communist Party.

Notwithstanding their crushing defeat in the Fall of 1926, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Rakovsky, Sokolnikov, Preobrazhensky and others less known continued their opposition to the group about Stalin which dominated the Communist Party and, through it, the Soviet Government. Matters reached a crisis last Summer when, in defiance of the strict rule of the Communist Party against "factional" opinions within its ranks, the leaders of the Opposition took advantage of the reverses to the cause of Communism in China, the excitement over the diplomatic break with Great Britain, and the murder of the Soviet envoy to Poland in Warsaw to renew their criticism of the Administration.

Trotsky and his associates declared that Stalin's Administration favored the wealthier peasantry at the expense of the poorer, with the result that the richer were not only increasing their holdings of land but getting control of the political organiza-

tions of the rural districts, to the subversion of Communistic principles. They asserted that the Administration was responsible for much the same development in the urban centres as well, favoring the private traders, the "nepmen," and other petty bourgeoisie at the expense of the proletarians, the workers. They protested that Stalin and his associates were twisting the democratic regulations of the Communist Party into rules for obedience to orders from above; that the Administration was rapidly developing an autocratic bureaucracy in no sense the "despotism of the proletariat" sought by sincere Communists. They insisted that the Administration had bungled in China by taking up with the bourgeois nationalist movement rather than adhering strictly to the policy of inflaming the proletarian masses. In short, the Opposition arraigned the Administration for compromising the principles of "world revolution" for the sake of immediate opportunities both at home and in the Orient. But at the same time the Opposition chided the Administration for the bad turn of affairs in the relations of the Soviet Union with Great Britain and the Powers of Western Europe. From their comments one would presume that the leaders of the Op-

position, if they were directing the Government, would adopt a more lenient policy toward foreign capital, though it might involve some modification of the Soviet monopoly of foreign trade, possibly discussion of the Soviet's obligation for the old Russian debt, and even a relaxation of the activity of the Third International in the Western World, at least during this present period of "temporary stabilization of European capitalism." They, of course, would not have it thought for a moment that they, too, like the leaders of the Administration, would desert the Communist ideal of "world revolution." It must, and would, ultimately come to free the oppressed peoples of the earth.

To the criticisms of their domestic policy the leaders of the Administration could reply that they were only following the precedents set by Lenin himself with the abandonment of "war-time Communism" for the "new economic policy." It was obvious that Communism had to get its own house in order before it could hope to go abroad. The Soviet Union must gain economic stability, even if at the sacrifice for the time being of some ambitions. The implication was, of course, that, as soon as the Russian people had been led from the chaos following the war, a purely Communistic régime would be re-established. It is hard for us to believe, however, that Lenin did not perceive the tremendous obstacles in the way of returning to such a social organization, once Russian society had been restored to stability on any other basis. From the more recent actions of the Soviet Government, it seems certain that Stalin appreciates the difficulty, we might say impossibility, of instilling the cardinal doctrine of Communism, that all property belongs to the State, into the great mass of the rural folk who constitute nearly 90 per cent. of the whole population of the Soviet Union and who, since the Revolution broke up the great estates of the Czarist régime, have enjoyed the use of the land as if it were their own. But, inasmuch as Lenin had already set precedents, Stalin was not obliged to defend the domestic policy of the Administration. On the contrary, he could call down popular wrath upon the members of the Opposition for daring to criticize the actions of "Saint Lenin."

As for the charge that the Administration was distorting the democratic institutions of government into an arbitrary bureaucracy which directed affairs from above, contrary to the purposes of the Soviet sys-

tem, Stalin and his associates could afford to remain silent. They knew that the mass of men would still be led by outward appearances to believe that the Soviet system worked in practice as constructed in theory. In any case, it was functioning only as it had functioned under Lenin. If need be, Stalin could say so in public, and in private he could effectively remind Trotsky that, as Commissar of War, he had once held high office in the Soviet Government and knew from experience the necessity of arbitrary directions from above.

When he came to the charges against the Administration on account of the situation in China, Stalin struck back at his critics with telling blows. He called their attention to three rules of action in the doctrines of Lenin with respect to the "world revolution." First, Communists should make common cause with any discontented groups, even bourgeois, which might advance the cause of the revolution; then, when the bourgeois groups began to desert the cause—as they would sooner or later—the Communists should begin to work for action by the masses, and finally, when the proper moment arrived, they should start the "real" revolution. These rules, said Stalin, were the basis of the Communist policy in China. The Third International worked with the Chinese bourgeoisie who, in nationalist fervor, were crusading against the capitalistic order of the imperialist usurpers. Then, when the bourgeoisie de-



TROTSKY'S EXPULSION

The Bear: "Thank heaven, there's one less to carry."

—Adams Service

serted the revolution—when Chiang Kai-shek broke with the left section of the Kuomintang at Hankow—the Third International followed the second rule of Lenin, and, cooperating with the radicals at Hankow, began to develop propaganda among the peasants and workers, the masses of China. The time, however, had not yet come to launch the “real” revolution in China. The Opposition, Stalin declared, was wrong if it thought so. The Communists must not move for the final overturn of capitalistic society in China until the propaganda of revolution had permeated further among the peasants and workers and until the treacherous bourgeois elements had been given time to exhaust themselves in rivalry with each other and to discredit themselves with the masses.

Stalin, however, made his most effective reply to the criticisms of the Opposition when he came to the European problem and the suggestions of Trotsky and his group for its solution. He is reported to have said through his spokesman in *Pravda*, the organ of the Communist Party:

The Opposition is right in stressing our setbacks and agreeing with the Administration viewpoint that the steady growth of the world's first proletarian State is arousing the ruthless hostility of its capitalist and imperialist enemies. That is true enough. But what does the Opposition advocate in the face of these dangers?

First, an unlimited talkfest that will expose our weak points and endanger the Communist Party unity that alone enabled the Soviet revolution to avoid the fate of its French prototype.

Second, to inaugurate, if their arguments prevail, a new and more revolutionary policy at home and abroad, because, whatever they may say about concessions to foreign capital, it is impossible to be more revolutionary at home and less revolutionary abroad. This inevitably plunges us into the war for which our enemies so diligently are seeking an occasion.

His argument is, indeed, hard to refute. Soviet statesmen cannot expect to be more revolutionary in one place and less revolutionary in another and at the same time hope to win the confidence and to dispel the suspicions of foreign statesmen. Stalin may well apply his dictum to the Third International and consider the feasibility of stopping its activities in China and elsewhere for the benefit of the Soviet Union. That he has done so cannot be positively asserted at this time, but strong indications have been given that he thinks first of Russia and its people rather than of Communism and its “world revolution.” It would not be altogether surprising if the

Soviet Government, once it is secure in the place of the old Czarist régime, abandoned the thought of “world revolution” and, with it, the Third International, for the advantages of State capitalism and good relations with the capitalistic Governments of the rest of the world.

The evidence, to be sure, is still too inadequate to make this more than a reasonable conjecture as to the ultimate purposes of Stalin and his associates in the Soviet Government. But there is ample evidence that they intend to remain in control of the affairs of Russia even if they have to drive out such prominent leaders in the Bolshevik revolution as Trotsky, Zinoviev and their supporters.

On Aug. 10 the Central Executive Committee and the Central Control Committee of the Communist Party in joint session reprimanded Trotsky and Zinoviev, but postponed the question of their expulsion from the Central Executive Committee of the party, it was said, in order to give them an opportunity to prepare their case for presentation to the Congress of the Communist party scheduled to assemble on Dec. 1. We may perhaps add that there was also an advantage in the postponement for the Administration. Stalin might well want time to organize the party machinery and to make sure of the opinions of the delegates who were to come to the party congress in December. In any case, reports soon began to reach foreign correspondents in Moscow that the Communist organizations in outlying districts were taking disciplinary action against members who leaned to the side of the Opposition.

Trotsky and his group, however, were not content to wait for the assembly of the party congress. In fact, they could not afford to do so, if they wished their arguments to have a sympathetic audience. Notwithstanding the party rule against “fractional” action—a powerful weapon in the hands of the Administration—Trotsky, Zinoviev and their friends endeavored to distribute their printed speeches and propaganda through the country. The Administration, of course, seized so excellent an opportunity to discredit the Opposition further. On Sept. 30 the report came from Moscow that Trotsky and his aide, Vuyovich, had been expelled from the Executive Committee of the Third International for their connection with “underground printing plants.” On Oct. 13 the announcement was made to the press in Moscow that Preobrazhensky, a former Commissar of

Finance, and three other members of the Opposition had been expelled from the Communist Party for taking part in the organization of an illegal printing press and that some forty Communists in Leningrad had met the same punishment for indulging in illegal meetings and seditious speeches. And finally, on Oct. 24, the Central Executive Committee and the Central Control Committee of the Communist Party took action against Trotsky and Zinoviev themselves.

Pravda published what purported to be an official account of the proceedings. An investigation by the secret police had discovered contacts between some of Trotsky's supporters and counter-revolutionaries which might be suspected as the beginnings of an armed rebellion against the Soviet Government. The representatives of the Administration, although not attempting to argue that Trotsky and Zinoviev themselves were aware of those contacts, charged that with their opposition to the policies of the Soviet Government they were encouraging and aiding indirectly the enemies of the Soviet State.

Trotsky dismissed this insinuation as absurd, and, it is reported, turned fiercely upon Stalin with these remarks:

This Stalin, of whom Lenin said, "The cook who will serve us only 'prepared dishes' (you have had an example with this peppery dish about our plot with counter-revolutionaries), and 'remove from the post of General Secretary of the Communist Party Stalin who can bring the party to rupture and ruin.'" * * * The Administration has swung from the Left to the Right, from the proletariat to the small bourgeoisie, from the worker to the technical specialist, from the member of the

Communist Party to the member of the machine, from the poor peasant to the rich peasant, from the Shanghai worker to Chiang Kai-shek, from the Chinese peasantry to the bourgeois officer class, from the English proletariat to Hicks's purse. That is Stalinism.

In sharp reply, Stalin picked up the criticism of himself in the so-called last testament of Lenin, to which Trotsky was referring:

A certain Eastman, a former American, was a Communist and later left the party. This gentleman, talking here with the Trotskyists, picked up some gossip about "Lenin's Testament" and wrote a book about it abroad.

As he had been in relation with Trotsky, I, Rykov, Zinoviev, Kamenev and other members of the Political Bureau, asked Trotsky to issue a disavowal, which the latter did unequivocally.

The question whether the said document, which Lenin did not originally intend for publication, but which was brought to the attention of that year's party convention, should now be published will be decided by the coming convention.

It said about me: "Stalin is too harsh and impatient for the position of General Secretary of the Communist Party. Therefore I suggest that you replace him by another comrade differing from Stalin only in that he is more patient, more loyal, more polite." * * *

I offered the Central Committee my resignation, but the latter, including Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev, insisted that I remain in the post. It is true that I am harsh, but only against those who try to split the party.

The Central Executive Committee and the Central Control Committee closed their session with a vote to expel Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party for "factional activity and indiscipline."

TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

Kemal Pasha's Speech on Recent Turkish History

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THE President of Turkey, on Oct. 15, began to deliver before the Assembly of the People's Party in Angora a speech approximating 400,000 words, which was completed on Oct. 20, after thirty-six hours and thirty minutes of time actually spent in delivery.

The membership of this Assembly included all the members-elect of the Grand National Assembly, since of the six candidates who announced themselves outside of the official list, only one received any vote in the election, and he but one vote. Two hundred and four members of the pre-

ceding Assembly were re-elected, together with 112 new candidates. The new Assembly will thus have 316 members, as against 281 for that elected in 1923. (These figures may not be exact.)

The elections which were held on Sept. 2 were preceded on Aug. 30 by the issuance of a manifesto from President Mustapha Kemal Pasha, in which he praised the work of the People's Party, or, more exactly stated, the "Republican Party of the People."

We hope during this new period of responsibility to reinforce the unity and security of the Turkish Fatherland through internal policy and to advance its development and civilization by foreign policy. Above all, we will multiply and concentrate our forces in the direction of solving our economic problems. The fundamental principle of our internal policy is to dedicate our forces to economic development within the limits of a national unity which does not tolerate dissensions and discords and considers all fellow citizens equal both in rights and duties.

The President also announced that no one might stand for election to Parliament who was a member of the Board of Directors of a company the greater part of whose capital is provided by the Government, or of a company which has received a concession for public works, or who was a member appointed by the Government on the administrative boards of monopolies. Besides this, the economic and financial activities of the Deputies after election was to be submitted to laws of the Government as well as to the surveillance of the President.

It was, then, a carefully chosen group which assembled at Angora to hear what is probably the longest speech hitherto delivered in the history of mankind. The audience of Mustapha Kemal Pasha was at his command. A cynic might suggest that the tears that were shed by him and many of his followers when the task was finished sprang partly from the emotion of relief, and partly from the feeling aroused by his long deferred patriotic climax.

The speech was mainly historical and included a number of important documents. It was also autobiographical, since the President pictured himself as centre and leader throughout the last eight years of Turkish history. The following summary is condensed from abstracts which have appeared in the daily press. Considerable time will probably elapse before the entire speech is available in a Western language:

General Mustapha Kemal Pasha landed on May 19, 1919, at Samsun, sent to take command of the Turkish troops in Anatolia with a view to further demobilization. At

that time the Sultan and Grand Vizier were doing nothing for the country. Troops of the Entente Allies were occupying various parts of Turkey, giving scant consideration to the stipulations of the armistice. Four days previously Greek troops had landed at Smyrna under protection of the Allies. Not only did the Greeks demand this region, but they planned a Thracian Republic and an autonomous Pontus near Trebizond, while the Kurds asked for independence. Among the Turks themselves were groups who believed that the future demanded either a British Protectorate, an American Protectorate or mandate, or the creation of several small separate States in Turkish territory. The speaker characterized as very dangerous the group which was called "The Friends of England," to which the Sultan and the Grand Vizier belonged.

Mustapha Kemal had under him three army corps with some authority over troops in Angora and Diarbekr. He started immediately to organize a movement for the expulsion of the Greek troops. At the end of June the Government at Constantinople attempted to recall him. He refused to return and presently withdrew from the army in order to obtain freedom of action. In the Autumn, at Erzerum, being confronted with signs of dissension among his supporters, he said: "History has shown that success cannot be achieved without a capable, energetic and determined leader. In times as troubled as these one accomplishes nothing by discussions."

In a congress held at Sivas there was discussion of an American Protectorate over Turkey, which was favored by Captain Rauf, General Refet Pasha, and Halideh Edib Hanum. (Halideh Hanum gave out promptly to the press a statement in which she criticized the accuracy of Mustapha Kemal's account of this movement.)

The President discussed at length anti-republican plots on the part of the Allies. He claimed that "The Friends of England" conspired with the Kurds against the Turkish Nationalist movement. He discussed the Armenian question, describing the events at Marash as a massacre of Turks by Armenians. He said: "We will not yield one inch of our land to the Armenians." He then narrated the circumstances which led up to the resignation at Constantinople in March, 1920, of the Grand Vizier, General Ali Riza Pasha, as well as the adjournment of the National Assembly in Constantinople and its appearance at Angora. The inauguration of the first Grand National Assembly was explained.

The fourth day was mainly given over to military history. The President followed the course of the Nationalist struggle with the Greeks and told how, when it became necessary to eliminate the irregular bands and organize a unified army, the Circassian leader Edhem and his followers, rather than submit, passed over to the Greek side. The President criticized strongly most of the generals who had fought under him in the war of liberation. Only Ismet Pasha received unqualified praise.

On the fifth day the Ghazi discussed the separation of the Sultanate and the Caliphate, the abolition of the Sultanate in 1922, the flight of the ex-Sultan, and the abolition of the Caliphate. He affirmed that the

present Turkish Government has no associations with religion; that the mention in the Constitution of the Moslem religion as the State religion of Turkey was the result of a compromise with antiquated ideas and is destined to disappear. In discussing finances the President admitted that he owns houses and estates in half a dozen towns, which were presented to him, and that he also owns a farm and cultivated lands which he bought with his own money, "but all these possessions I hold for my party." The speech ended with an appeal to the young men of Turkey to devote themselves to patriotic service of the country.

A Congress of the Turkish People's Party met in Constantinople late in October and adopted a revised party program. The republic is recognized as the proper present and future form of government for Turkey. Mustapha Kemal is President-General of the party, possessing solely the prerogative of speaking in the party's name. Other principles in the program are: To work for separation of religion from State affairs, to apply the principles of government by the people for the people in all branches of national administration and activity, to establish absolute equality of all in the eyes of the law and to support expansion of the Turkish language and culture so as to assure unity of language, sentiments and opinions among the children of the party.

The new American Ambassador to Turkey, Joseph Clark Grew, formally pre-

sented his credentials at Angora on Oct. 12, ending a gap in regular diplomatic representation between Turkey and the United States which had extended over more than ten years. The Turkish public and press welcomed him with much enthusiasm.

The first complete census in Turkey was held on Oct. 28. The whole population of the country was required to remain at home from 5 o'clock in the morning until 5 o'clock in the evening, and about 50,000 officials were employed upon the task of collecting the names of men, women and children, with their age, religion, native language, profession and state of health and education. A preliminary report given out a week later estimated that Constantinople contains 850,000 people, with a preponderance of females, while Angora contains 75,000, of whom one-third are females. The estimate for the whole country was put at 14,000,000 which, however, is suspiciously near the Turkish claim for some years past and therefore may need to be revised.

Passenger air service was inaugurated between Constantinople and Brindisi on Aug. 7, the service to be semi-weekly. One thousand, four hundred and ninety-five automobiles were imported into Constantinople in 1926, representing a large increase over the 850 cars which were imported in 1924. A majority were of American make, with the only serious European competitor in the Fiat automobile.

OTHER EVENTS IN THE NEAR EAST

EGYPT—The Wafd, or Delegations Party, when it recently elected Mustapha Pasha Nahas as its leader and Chairman of its Parliamentary Committee, endorsed a manifesto which announced that the Wafd would work according to Zaghlul Pasha's principles and would strive for complete independence, without hatred or animosity, would maintain the existing coalition with other parties and would cultivate friendly relations with foreign Powers and particularly with England.

What was later described as a "tempest in a teapot" occurred when the report was issued on Nov. 4 that the J. G. White Corporation of New York had obtained a contract from the Abyssinian Government to construct a dam across the Blue Nile at Lake Tsana, Abyssinia, which would enable the latter Power virtually to control the water supply of the Sudan and Egypt. As the British Government has had treaty rights since 1902, guaranteeing that no dam

will be built without its consent, the announcement caused a great sensation in Egypt, a Cabinet meeting was called and Premier Sarwat Pasha, then in London, postponed his departure. On Nov. 7, however, Dr. W. Martin, representative of the Abyssinian Regent, who had been conducting negotiations in the United States, landed in England and denied that any contract had been signed or would be signed without the permission of the British Government.

SYRIA—The French Government has announced its intention to refund to the Lebanon and Syrian States their shares of the customs revenues of the past eight years. These amounts, which for the Lebanon alone are about \$6,000,000, are to be spent upon public works, sanitation in the towns, the subsidizing of local industries and the development of Summer resorts for tourists. The Lebanon entertained during the past Summer 12,000 visitors. The French have also lifted the embargo from

the export of local products. This action should reduce the great disparity that exists between imports and exports.

Certain newspapers of the Lebanon displeased the French authorities in Syria by commenting on frauds and embezzlements in the customs and the Departments of Public Health and Public Works, and were suspended without trial. The Lebanese Press Union protested to the French Government and the Press Union of Paris against the suspension.

PALESTINE—More than 1,000 representatives of American Zionism, assembled at Cleveland on Oct. 30, heard Rabbi Stephen S. Wise criticize the British policy in Palestine as failing to carry out sufficiently well the pledge of the Balfour declaration. Rabbi Wise said: "We shall insist that the terms of the mandate with regard to the control and the utilization of the natural resources of the land be fulfilled, that the profits are to accrue neither to any individual Jew, nor to any company of non-Jews in England, and that the gains of the valuable Dead Sea concession shall be safeguarded for Palestine and its people." Messages were read from Lord Balfour, Viscount Cecil, David Lloyd George and General Jan Smuts, supporting the Balfour declaration and promising support in carrying out its promise. The conference approved a quota of \$7,500,000 for relief in Palestine during 1928.

As a result of the reduced budget of the fifteenth Zionist Congress it has been necessary to close many Hebrew classes and some Hebrew schools in Palestine. It has been pointed out that in at least one way this circumstance may operate for the advantage of the country. The children of Jewish immigrants will go to school with Arab children under Government auspices, and the unification of the population in the Holy Land will be furthered.

The new coinage for Palestine was put into circulation on Nov. 1. The basis is a lira, equal to the pound sterling, and this is divided into 1,000 mils, each worth about one-half a cent.

Bids were opened in October for the right to exploit the salt and potash deposits in the Dead Sea, and the award was made to the British Chemical Trust headed by Sir Alfred Mond.

IRAQ.—The Turkish Government has appointed Talaat Kaia Bey as its Consul General in Iraq, and this action is expected to make possible the resumption

of trade relations between Iraq and the adjacent parts of Turkey, which have been interrupted since 1918. Good feeling exists between Iraq and Turkey, whereas there is friction between both these countries and Persia.

The participation of American interests in the exploitation of petroleum in the neighborhood of Mosul has been finally agreed upon, according to an announcement early in November. A 5 per cent. royalty is to be paid to an Armenian capitalist, Mr. C. S. Gulbenkian, and five American companies are to share a 25 per cent. interest in the Turkish Petroleum Company. The five are the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, the Standard Oil Company of New York, the Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Company, the Atlantic Refining Company and the Gulf Oil Corporation. The other three-fourths of the stock are owned by the Royal Dutch Shell interests, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and a French group.

PERSIA—A bill submitted to Parliament at the end of September provided that instead of an American Administrator General of Finances, who should occupy the place vacated by Dr. Millspaugh, four foreign experts should be employed, all under the direct authority of the Persian Minister of Finance. The financial experts will study and report on the financial situation, find new sources of revenue and reform the financial administration. The Chief Inspector will control the collection of the revenue, while the Treasurer General and the chief accountant will perform obvious duties. The first two are to come from Germany and the second two from Switzerland.

The frontier dispute between Turkey and Persia continued through the month of October. The frontier has been violated by bands of Kurds, who at one time captured Turkish soldiers and carried them into Persia. It is questioned whether the raiding Kurds were residents of Persia or refugees from Turkey on account of the severe measures of punishment which followed the Kurdish revolt of 1925. The incidents call attention to the fact that the Kurds, who in spite of their primitive political organization presented claims for national autonomy at the Peace Conference of 1919, remain divided between the three Governments of Turkey, Persia and Iraq, and that the lines of division are, as far as they are concerned, arbitrarily drawn.

Chang Tso-lin's Hold on Peking

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CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

ON Oct. 10, sixteenth anniversary of the Republican revolution in China, Marshal Chang Tso-lin, self-constituted provisional executive at Peking, arrayed himself in a new uniform, reputed to have cost him \$40,000 (U. S.), in honor of the day. The holiday was alloyed by the necessity of meeting attacks upon his position as nominal head of the Chinese State, a position which actually involved authority over Manchuria, Eastern Inner Mongolia and Chihli only, although the Province of Shantung under Tupan Chang Tsung-chang might be reckoned part of Chang Tso-lin's territory by virtue of his alliance with its Governor.

No threat to the "Dictator's" authority had raised its head since early in August, when the northward drive of the Kuomintang forces spent itself against the defenders of Shantung. Prior to that anti-climax, marked by the unexpected resignation of the moderate Nationalist leader, General Chiang Kai-shek, Chang Tso-lin had sought with some anxiety to bring the Tupan of Shansi Province, Yen Hsi-shan, into his clique, called the Ankuochun. Yen bore the enviable title of "model Governor," won by his refusal to engage in the perennial civil war and his proof of interest in his people's welfare. He had extended literacy, established hospitals for the cure of opium addicts, built many miles of good roads and encouraged local self-government. Frequently called upon to side with some faction ambitious to control the capital he had consistently refused. And he again refused when besought by Chang Tso-lin last June. Instead reports came from Shansi that Tupan Yen was espousing the Nationalist cause, even to authorizing the use of its flag, a blue sun on a field of white. But no final evidence of his real attitude toward the problem of national reorganization was available until, on Sept. 29, a small skirmish took place west of Kalgan, between the troops of General Shang Chen, Tutung (Military Prefect) of Suiyuan—one of three special border areas, immediately northwest of Shansi—and General Yu Chen, newly appointed Tutung of the special area of Charhar, just east of Suiyuan. General

Shang Chen was an appointee of Governor Yen, General Yu Chen of Chang Tso-lin.

Apparently the Peking military clique had not anticipated immediate trouble in that quarter while Governor Yen's ally was well prepared. The latter pressed his advantage and easily captured Kalgan, Chang Tso-lin's northwestern outpost, taking prisoner General Yu Chen. At the same time a second area of hostilities developed to the southward at Shihchia-chuang, the terminus of the east-west railway which connects Taiyuanfu, capital of Shansi, with a short spur running to Chengtingfu on the Peking-Hankow line. Governor Yen had maintained a considerable body of troops there for several months as a first line of defense against a possible attack while the Chang Tso-lin forces were fighting the Nationalists in Northern Honan during last Summer's campaign. These attacked Chang's garrison at Chengtingfu and drove them North.

These successes caused apprehension in Peking, where special precautions were taken against attack from without and possible uprisings within the city. No consensus of opinion existed upon the reason for Yen's attack, though it was regarded by many as instigated by the Soviets working through the "Christian" General Feng Yushiang. By some well-informed persons it was suggested that Yen had been forced to act by subordinates. A variant of this ascribed his move to the desire to rid himself of the over-ambitious Tutung Shang Chen by affording him an opportunity to "hang" himself. In view of Yen's past record of non-intervention the logical explanation was that he had assumed a "defensive offensive" under the apprehension that "Dictator" Chang Tso-lin, flushed with success, was planning to absorb his province. The seizure by Shantung officials of \$3,000,000 worth of arms which he was importing from Germany may have contributed to such a suspicion.

The connection of General Feng Yushiang with this sudden démarche was suspected but evidence at first was lacking. Former Feng regiments were known to be fighting under Yen, but Feng was not men-

tioned as leading them. From his base in Honan no news of immediate cooperation was received, but General Chang Tsung-chang, Tupan of Shantung, prepared against attack by Feng's men upon South-western Shantung, and about Nov. 1 a vaguely worded dispatch recorded a victory for Feng in Northeastern Honan and stated that he was driving on Hsuehchow, junction of railway lines south from Tientsin and east from Honan.

Governor Yen's advance was halted as soon as the Peking group could assemble sufficient forces and artillery to attack. Kalgan was reoccupied by Oct. 15 and a large Shansi army was reported cut off by the capture of Shihchiachuang by Tupan Chang Tsung-chang's troops driving west from Shantung. Both sides threw large forces into the field but Yen could hardly have anticipated final victory except through the defection of a part of Chang Tso-lin's forces. Having thrown back the attackers, the latter were reported as having penetrated deeply into Northern Shansi.

The interest of Japan in the brief "war" was indicated by the arrival in Peking of Lieut. Gen. Arai, Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Army in North China. No additional Japanese troops were dispatched to Peking or Tientsin, though the War Office at Tokio considered seriously the possible necessity for such action. The Japanese

troops in Shantung were withdrawn during September. The British sent the warship *Vindictive* to Chefoo to guard against possible raiding of the local branch of the Hongkong-Shanghai Bank in which revenues of the salt monopoly were on deposit.

Since the Nationalist junta at Nanking had asserted its intention to reopen the offensive against the Ankuochun clique there was mooted the possibility that Yen's stroke portended a general advance of all the anti-Chang Tso-lin factions. If Yen counted on aid from Nanking and Hankow he was badly disappointed. Instead of attempting to move north the two Yangtze cliques resumed threats against each other. Nanking charged General Tang Seng-chi at Hankow with negotiating for a combination with Chang Tso-lin and the charge was supported by Chang's publicity office at Peking. Nanking forces clashed severely with those of Hankow near Wuhu. The real character of the present control at Nanking was revealed by the appointment of General Cheng Chien—who carried out the anti-foreign demonstration in Nanking last March—as head of the military council there. Since Cheng and Tang Seng-chi both are credited with Communist leanings the difficulty of discovering any basis of principle in the Nanking-Hankow imbroglio is apparent. Throughout all China each Tuchun is playing his own hand.

OTHER EVENTS IN CHINA

REGIONAL governments along the south of the Yangtze continued to exhibit a kaleidoscopic variety of factions and political tints. No significant changes occurred in the control of important centres. The Nanking Finance Minister, Sun Fo, sought to raise a loan of \$20,000,000 (Mex.) in Shanghai, pending reorganization of the salt gabelle and other taxes. The discontinuance of a monthly remittance of \$4,000,000 to Nanking from Canton has crippled the former Government seriously. Foreign trade at Shanghai, as at practically all Chinese ports, continued to pay a 2½ per cent. surtax on ordinary imports and exports and a 5 per cent. surtax on luxuries. The only important exception was Japanese trade, which refused to pay the surtaxes on the ground that they were not yet authorized by treaty. No important country had recognized the 50 per cent. duty on tobacco and cigarettes nor the 30 per cent. duty on liquors imposed last July by the "Nationalist" Government, but these heavy duties virtually throttled the trade in cigarettes

through Shanghai. The resulting drop in revenue prompted the Nanking Government, which controls Kiangsu and Chekiang, to devise a more moderate rate which foreign companies seemed inclined to accept. On Oct. 31 the American Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai gave a dinner in honor of the Nanking Cabinet.

The British forces at Shanghai were reduced to 6,000 men, with prospects of further reduction to 3,000. No change in the number of American troops was contemplated. On Oct. 15 British residents of the former British concession at Hankow—turned back to the Hankow Government last March—petitioned their home Government to demand an improvement in conditions there, citing militarism, graft and bad management as grievances that were becoming intolerable. Curiously enough the British mass-meeting occurred only a few days after the Japanese had removed the defenses put up last April around their concession and a few days before Admiral Bristol, commander of the American fleet



THE CHINESE PUZZLE

Newspaper Correspondent in China: "What I cannot understand is who is fighting whom, for what, when and where."

—Mucha, Warsaw

in Asiatic waters, had reported after a visit at Hankow that conditions were quiet.

Appearances at Canton suggested a revival of the Hankow group in that original centre of Chinese nationalism. Recalcitrants of the Left Wing Kuomintang—Wang Ching-wei, T. V. Soong and others—were gathering there with proposals of a fresh start for the party. General Chiang Kai-shek was in correspondence with Wang Ching-wei from Tokio. The possibility of a drive northward in the Spring of 1928 was under contemplation, also the comparative advisability of Soviet, Japanese, or other foreign advisers. Less encouraging was the report that a new boycott was in process of erection against British trade, as a result of which the British Government was considering the possibility of blockading the Port of Canton. In this connection it may be recalled that when France blockaded Formosa in 1885 three States protested, leading France to declare war upon China.

Speaking before the Chinese Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai on Oct. 27, at a dinner in his honor, Admiral Bristol said that the United States favored the aspirations of the Chinese people but that fair play demanded that they meet the well-disposed foreigner half way.

EVENTS IN JAPAN

ON Oct. 1 a monument was unveiled at Shimoda commemorating the landing of Townsend Harris, first American envoy

to Japan. Viscount Shibusawa, principal contributor toward the cost of the memorial, Mr. MacVeagh, United States Ambassador, and other prominent persons, attended the ceremony. The Viscount, after an interesting account of how Harris secured the first commercial treaty between Japan and any Western State, concluded: "The Japanese people ought to be grateful to his memory for his unfailing championship of justice and humanity. In dealing with Japan he never failed to adopt an upright attitude."

On the occasion of the visit of Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Co. to Tokio the Emperor conferred important decorations upon Mr. Morgan, Mr. Lamont and others as an expression of appreciation of assistance rendered Japan toward the flotation of reconstructive loans since the great earthquake of 1923. During his visit Mr. Lamont discussed loan possibilities with directors of the South Manchurian Railway, for which funds are needed for railway extensions and mining operations. Negotiations were started concurrently between President Yamamoto of the South Manchurians and Chang Tso-lin for a large loan.

A mission headed by F. Kuhara, a prominent business man belonging to the party now in office, the Seiyukai, left for Russia to study economic conditions and open the way, if possible, to the long-anticipated commercial treaty with the U. S. S. R. Viscount Goto, who engineered the treaty of recognition (1925), was to join the party in Moscow in November. The fact that Japan and Germany are now negotiating a commercial treaty caused some speculation in the Japanese press upon a possible underlying implication of a triple entente.

Before an audience of 40,000 people at Rome Pope Pius XI consecrated Rev. G. Hayasaka as the first Japanese Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church.

Japanese shipping companies have demanded that the Government bring the Port of Dairen in the Kwantung-leased territory of South Manchuria under the restrictions against foreign shipping that apply to the Japanese coast trade. Foreign ships carry a negligible portion of the Japan-Kwantung trade but foreign interests opposed such a step on the principle that Kwantung, though under a Japanese administrative lease, was a part of China.

Admiral Viscount Saito, Japan's delegate to the recent Three-Power Naval Conference at Geneva, resumed the Governor-Generalship of Korea upon his return to Japan.

2

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Continued from Page xxvi.

write his own history, but to explain how and why events took the course they did."

He who can capitalize his ignorance in this manner need never suffer want; and so Sir Arthur rests in the hope that, after many generations of students have done their work, one may be able to write a history of man, telling the when, how and why of his appearance on earth. He thinks it is unreasonable to credit the Eternal God with any agency in the matter; but it is perfectly reasonable to suppose that a billion "microscopic living units" should have self-directive power to build up a man from an impregnated ovum. While it is true that Darwin claimed that he had produced some 500 varieties of pigeons from a single pair, he never pretended that he had ever seen the rise of a new species of bird or beast by evolution. Professor Newman of Chicago University, in a book published only last year, concedes that no man has ever yet seen the rise of a species by evolution. Do we need anything further to show that the Darwinian theory is but a baseless assumption?

JAMES LISLE.

Willamette University, Salem, Ore.

INTELLIGENCE AND EVOLUTION

To the Editor of Current History:

Apropos of Sir Arthur Keith's strong endorsement of Darwin's theory of the descent of man (CURRENT HISTORY, October, 1927, pages 98-103), I would draw attention to the following statement of Darwin himself: "The birth both of the species and of the individual are equally parts of that grand sequence of events which our minds refuse to accept as the result of blind chance" (*The Descent of Man*, revised edition, Rand, McNally & Co., page 697).

Eliminate chance and you affirm intelligence. This is man's distinctive endowment. Man makes plans, and works consciously on a plan and for a purpose. He can pull down without plan or purpose, even as beasts do and the forces of nature that act blindly, but he can never build up. Every work of his hands has its limits fixed according to the purpose he has in view. He makes a little house for hens or pigs, a big one for himself. He makes a skiff to cross a river, a boat to cross a bay, a ship to cross the ocean. He makes a little chair for a child, a big one for himself. If he were to make a chair as high as the ceiling, even the child would say he was a fool. He would not be using his intelligence, for a person would need a ladder to climb into that chair, and might fall and break his neck. Man, therefore, when he uses his intelligence, works

Continued on Page xxxvi.

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Continued from Page xxxiv.

on a plan and for a purpose, and sets limits to the things that he makes according to the purpose he has in view.

Let us now look into the world around us. Here, too, we find things made on a plan and for a purpose. Everything in the world is just so big and not bigger. It could be bigger, it could be smaller, but it has its limits rigidly fixed. Nor can any reason be given for the limits it actually has save adaptation to a purpose. The sea might be so extended as to cover all but a few hundred acres of dry land, but while this would give the fishes wider bounds to roam in, it would leave no room for man and beast. Apple trees might be as tall as the redwood of California or the Douglas fir of Vancouver Island, but no boy could ever climb them, nor could apples be picked when they were ripe. The sun could be three times as big as it is; there are stars that are twenty times as big; and it could be but one-third of its actual size. But if it were three times as big, it would be far too big for us, and if but one-third as big, far too small, its manifest purpose being to give light and warmth to the earth.

There is, therefore, a Supreme Intelligence, or as the poet has it:

There is a divinity that shapes our ends
Rough-hew them how we will.

And this Supreme Intelligence, whom we call God, is a personal being, knows and wills, and is free, for every intelligent being is a personal being, knows and wills and is free.

Not only are the things of the physical world limited in size; they are limited also in capacity of being, doing, and becoming. Not even the fool imagines he can get beechnuts from oaks or figs from thistles. Just as man, using his intelligence, imposes on the things that he makes the law of conformity to plan, so the Supreme Intelligence has imposed on the things that live the law of conformity to type. This is a law of nature that has been established by the rigorously scientific method of observation and experiment throughout the multitudinous species of living organisms since men began to dwell upon the earth. So Darwin himself has the honesty to confess in his letter to Bentham, in which he says: "When we descend to details, we can prove that not one species has changed." (*Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, Vol. I. p. 210.) And Professor Vernon Kellog, in his recent book, *Evolution*, is constrained to admit that "speaking by and large, we only tell the general truth when we declare that no indubitable cases of species forming or transforming, that is, of descent, have been observed."

Given a Supreme Intelligence, it follows that

the intelligence which is in man proceeds from Him. It follows, also, as he Himself has revealed to us, that, "in the beginning He made everything that creepeth on the earth after its kind" (Genesis i, 25).

Right. Rev. ALEX. MACDONALD, D. D.,
University of St. Francis Xavier's College,
Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

* * *

Mr. John Jesudason Cornelius, author of the article "India's Degradation Laid to British Misrule," published in this issue, wishes to make clear his point of view and purpose in writing this article. He states that he was not so much concerned with the allocation of responsibility for present conditions in India as with the presentation of a view opposed to that expressed by Miss Katherine Mayo in her sensational book, *Mother India*. His chief object was to expose the fallacies of Miss Mayo's method of argument, as well as of her so-called documentary evidences, in the hope of offsetting the damaging effect which, to the Hindu mind, the book is likely to have upon the proper understanding of India.

* * *

A COMMENT FROM LATIN AMERICA

To the Editor of *Current History*:

The Latin-American number of *CURRENT HISTORY* is excellent. There is one vital point, however, that was not brought out in any article and which Americans in general fail to realize, and that is the prevalence of graft in Latin-American countries. In many instances, every official from the highest to the lowest is involved, and the popular attitude toward such a condition is by no means one of disapproval as it is in America. We are apt to judge these people by our code of ethics or in the light of conditions prevailing in the United States, whereas our ideals and theirs are as unlike as day and night.

M. J. CLANCY.

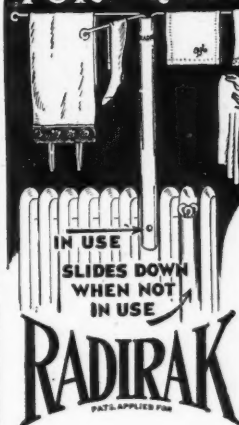
Bluefields, Nicaragua.

* * *

Mrs. Evelyn M. Palmer of Downers Grove, Ill., writes: "Recently I read for the first time a copy of *CURRENT HISTORY* and spent several hours in keenest pleasure reading it 'from cover to cover.' It seems to me to be just what a thinking reader delights in—keeping abreast of the thoughts of the time without wading through columns of superfluous reading matter. I like it."

The article, "The Punitive vs. the Psychiatric Treatment of Criminals," by Eben W. Burnstead, was received too late to be included in its proper place in the Symposium on Crime, and therefore appears in another section of this issue.

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World Finance—A Month's Survey

By D. W. ELLSWORTH
ASSISTANT EDITOR OF *The Analyst*

OF the many events of first-class magnitude that have crowded their way into the month's news those of outstanding interest have been these: the publication of S. Parker Gilbert's note to Finance Minister Koehler protesting against the assumption by the German Government of too many financial obligations; the settlement of the internal dispute over Germany's foreign loan policy; the reversal of the previous downward tendency in money rates in European financial centres; the decline in security prices on the Berlin stock exchange; the heavy liquidation and subsequent recovery on the New York Stock Exchange; the renewed agitation over the right of the American State Department to approve or disapprove of the flotation here of loans originating in foreign countries; the continued decline in business activity in this country; and the continuation of the gold export movement from the United States which began in September.

One effect of Mr. Gilbert's note to the German Finance Minister was a precipitate decline in prices on the Berlin stock exchange. A pessimistic communiqué issued by the United Steel Trust furnished additional ammunition for the bears, and at times the excited selling of stocks is reported to have approached panic proportions. United Steel, for example, which recently sold as high as 150, fell to 95, the first time since it was placed on the market that it had sold below par. The market is said to have fallen 15 points, on the average, during the day, but on the day following the decline was stopped by powerful banking support. In the New York market German Government and industrial securities, a large amount of which have been sold to the American public within the last two years, were naturally also adversely affected by Mr. Gilbert's note, although declines were by no means as severe as those reported on the Berlin exchange.

It is expected that another effect of the Gilbert memorandum will very likely be still stricter supervision by the American State Department over the flotation of loans in the American market by the Central German Government and by German States, municipalities and industries. It will be recalled that in September the State Department withheld its approval of such a loan, amounting to \$30,000,000, to the Free State of Prussia, approval being finally granted in October only after assurances had been given that the borrowed money was to be used for productive pur-

poses only. As originally proposed, it appears that objections were raised not only by the State Department and by Mr. Gilbert, but also by Dr. Schacht, President of the Reichsbank, who has been a persistent opponent of overborrowing by German Governments and industries.

This dispute, curiously enough, has in a sense had its counterpart in this country, although here the question which has been raised is entirely dissimilar. In Germany there has been no question about the power of the proper authorities to regulate foreign borrowing. In this country, on the other hand, the legality of the present practice of the State Department of requiring bankers who are negotiating foreign loans to submit the terms of the proposed financing for approval or disapproval has been publicly disputed by Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, who seems to stand on perfectly safe and sane ground when he argues that the action of the State Department "is incontestably extraconstitutional, and without sanction of law."

Whatever view is taken on the merits of the controversy, the restrictions imposed by our Government on foreign borrowing have led to some curious results, one of which was the recent offering by the International Match Company, on behalf of the Swedish Match Company, of \$50,000,000 5 per cent. debenture bonds, America's share of a \$75,000,000 loan to be used for the liquidation of \$70,000,000 outstanding of the French \$100,000,000 8 per cent. loan floated in the United States in 1920. This loan had to be floated through the intermediary of the match trust on account of the attitude of the State Department toward French financing since the failure of France to ratify the Mellon-Bérenger agreement.

The repatriation of French capital is proceeding at a slackened pace just at present, which seems to be due either to fears of a Left victory at the next election or to the prevailing opinion that Poincaré intends to stabilize the franc at its present level, thus precluding the possibility of further speculative profits. It is now predicted that the expected budgetary surplus of 1,500,000,000 francs will not be realized.

Turning to developments in domestic financial markets, October was distinguished by being the first month in the present year to show a downward movement of any conse-

Continued on Page xl.

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Continued from Page xxxviii.

quence in the stock market. The decline in the average of twenty-five representative industrial stocks, though much less than in the memorable break of March, 1926, was the greatest which has occurred since then; and certain stocks which were most prominent in the long, almost uninterrupted advance through the Spring and Summer were subjected to particularly heavy selling pressure. Thus United States Steel, from a September high of 160½, was forced down to 128% on Oct. 29; and General Electric, another standard investment issue, on the same day reached 120%, as against a September high of 146%.

The market recovered early in November, however, and although up to Nov. 10 the market averages had failed to recover all of their October loss, certain stocks advanced into new high ground for the year. The leaders on the recovery were American Can, Packard, Woolworth, American Smelting, Chrysler, International Harvester and some of the outstanding railroad stocks. It is significant that Steel and General Motors, which have been the leaders in practically every other recent upward movement, lagged behind; this despite the fact that on Nov. 10 the directors of the General Motors Corporation authorized the largest cash distribution ever made to stockholders of an American company in the form of a regular quarterly dividend of \$1.25 a share and an extra cash dividend of \$2.50 a share.

The shift in market leadership doubtless reflects conditions in the business world. Allowing for seasonal influences, both steel ingot production and pig iron output in October were at the lowest rate since the depression in the Summer of 1924; and prices of both pig iron and finished steel were the lowest in several years. The automobile industry continued to be unsettled by fears of competition from the new Ford model, and October output in the United States was far below that of the corresponding month last year.

The money market, making due allowance for the season of the year, was slightly firmer in October. The outstanding feature of the combined statements of the Federal Reserve Banks in October was again a sharp increase in holdings of Government securities. Another development which occasioned some comment was the increase in acceptance holdings, but as this is a recurring seasonal phenomenon it seemed to have no special significance.

In October, also, gold exports again exceeded gold imports, according to preliminary figures given out by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. As in September, most of the gold exported went to Argentina, while Brazil has taken large quantities,

for the purpose of providing adequate reserves for the reorganized monetary system which, by legislative decree, is expected to become effective in 1928. Unlike the Argentine shipments, however, the Brazilian shipments are not the result of exchange transactions. Argentine exchange had risen to a premium as a result of a favorable balance of trade, and the New York bankers found it more economical to ship part of the proceeds of the Argentine loan in gold than to buy Argentine remittances. Later, additional gold shipments took place as a result of the continued premium on Argentine exchange. The Brazilian shipment, on the other hand, was the result of a straight-out purchase of gold, with the permission of United States Treasury officials, by Brazil,

The continued shipment of gold from this country again brings to the fore the position of this country as the custodian of approximately 45 per cent. of the world's gold supply, which is roughly \$10,000,000,000. Last Spring several huge international gold transactions in connection with the pegging of the French franc brought to a focus the fact that the Bank of France and other foreign banks hold vast amounts of short-term gold credits in this country and can draw off gold from this country whenever they desire to do so. The Brookmire Economic Service estimates that at the present time there is a total surplus of gold above legal requirements for reserves of \$2,244,000,000. Against this is the somewhat startling fact that the Department of Commerce estimates that foreigners have on deposit in this country or invested subject to prompt recall no less than \$2,246,000,000. That is, our surplus gold is in the hands of foreign banks, governments and individuals.

Although the quidnuncs continue to congratulate themselves and the world in general that our huge stock of gold has resulted in no inflation (of commodity prices), no less an authority than B. M. Anderson Jr., economist of the Chase National Bank of New York, points out that "the great use made of surplus bank funds has been in markets for securities and real estate mortgages, and in the purchase of instalment finance paper. * * * With these tendencies of the use of bank credit in the United States a necessary corollary is that the proportion of bank assets which can be taken to the Federal Reserve Banks is steadily diminishing, and that the general liquidity of bank credit in the United States is consequently steadily diminishing."

A reversal of the "cheap money policy" is already observable abroad. On Oct. 13 the Bank of the Netherlands raised its discount rate from 3½ to 4½ per cent., and on Nov. 1 the Bank of Norway raised its rate from 4½ to 5 per cent.

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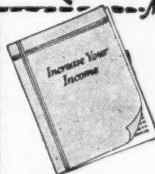
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CURRENT HISTORY

BOOK REVIEWS

Vol. XXVII

January, 1928

Number 4

The Rise of Woodrow Wilson

By P. W. WILSON

FORMER MEMBER OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

THE monumental biography of Woodrow Wilson*, which Ray Stannard Baker is deriving from five tons of carefully preserved documents, is to consist of six volumes. Two are now published and they carry the narrative from the late President's birth on Dec. 28, 1856, at Staunton, Va., to his nomination on Sept. 15, 1910, for the Governorship of New Jersey. We have here an ample and vivid picture of his boyhood, his professorship and, last but not least, of his Presidency at Princeton. A second two volumes are promised tentatively for the Autumn of this year, and these will carry a fascinating career to the steps of the White House.

Beyond dispute, Mr. Baker has added to history. His pages challenge point-blank the estimate of Woodrow Wilson as a man which has been current hitherto, at any rate outside his own country. To Europe, a college professor means a theorist, unequipped for politics, and Woodrow Wilson was labeled as an academic person, the very antithesis to a practical parliamentarian like Lloyd George. The truth is that, in the scholastic sense, he was not erudite. "He did not even learn his letters until he was 9 years old and could not read readily till he was 11," nor was there any hurry to send him to school.

As a boy "Tommy" Wilson was an entirely human person. A circus was visiting the town and in order to follow the elephant around the future President played truant. Not without reason, he and a companion, anticipating chastisement, "introduced cotton pads at the points where they might prove most useful," but despite the precaution the culprit confessed in later life to "a feeling recollection" of the incident. Professor Derry, his master at Augusta, Ga., who is still living, claims that he is, perhaps, the only person who ever

whipped Woodrow Wilson. "Tommy" Wilson was "bright enough," but "apparently not interested" in his studies. We find him organizing a "Lightfoot Club," designed for "various secret, mysterious and adventurous purposes," including baseball and dancing the hornpipe, in which amusement, practiced by Wilson even in the White House, he was "extremely light and agile on his feet." For the game of football he never lost his zest. After throwing up his hat and yelling, the Woodrow Wilson of international fame would explain to his astonished companions, "Excuse me, but that was a Princeton play." The boy "Tommy" was, in fact, the father of the statesman who enjoyed a good movie and found relief from his cares in Keith's vaudeville in Washington.

As a boy he was not a great reader, and his favorite authors were Fenimore Cooper, Walter Scott and, indeed, any one who could tell a stirring tale of treasure, of piracy and of war. When, therefore, he reached Davidson College, it was noted that he had been "poorly prepared." Indeed, in order to make up for lost time he had to overstrain his strength. "Though the requirements were not severe," the future President of Princeton was conditioned in ancient geography and Cicero and entered his mathematics and Greek classics "on probation." As a freshman at Princeton he was excluded from the honor men and his comment on Livy, Horace, Demosthenes and advanced algebra was that he found them "exceedingly difficult." While he qualified in law, it was not a profession that he wished to pursue. Tested by academics, therefore, Woodrow Wilson's attainments were barely normal. They did not compare with Pitt's precocity in Latin, Greek and mathematics, nor with the "double firsts" won at Oxford by Gladstone and Asquith. For mere scholarship, apart from its object, he had little use, and throughout

Continued on Page iv.

**Woodrow Wilson—Life and Letters: Youth and Princeton.* By Ray Stannard Baker. 2 vols. Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co. \$10 the set.

Am I not drifting along aimlessly? Is it lack of will, poor memory, mental laziness, mind-wandering, or what?

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Jerome K. Jerome, author and dramatist.

General Sir O'Moore Creagh, V. C., G. C. B., G. C. S. J.

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Continued from Page ii.

his life no man was less of a bookworm. His correspondence was amazingly voluminous. Masses of it have been preserved. He poured forth his ideas to his friends, men and women, with astounding prodigality. But this very industry shows that he was at least as fond of writing as of reading.

Of his intellectual nonchalance, there is an explanation. It was deliberate. He "took his education into his own hands." To quote his own words: "The rule for every man is not to depend on the education which other men prepare for him—not even to consent to it, but to strive to see things as they are, and to be himself as he is. Defeat lies in self-surrender." The knowledge that Woodrow Wilson wanted was the knowledge that would be power. As a boy, he had never set eyes on the sea. But "he made elaborate and accurate drawings of every type of ocean-going craft," and "presently he became the admiral of a navy of his own creation and began to write daily reports as such to the Navy Department of the United States Government." In his early 'teens he saw himself as a factor in the Administration at Washington.

It was this ambition that determined his reading. Over Livy he might be "languid," but he was not languid when he received Bryce's *American Commonwealth*. He devoured the book. Not less eager was his absorption of Green's *Shorter History of the English People*. Such books were his meat and drink. Lamb's essays, Webster's oratory, Macaulay, the arguments on secession, the struggles of Gladstone and Bright, and Bagehot on the English Constitution—all these were as the air that he breathed. The power that Wilson coveted was not scientific, not commercial; it was political. His reason for migrating from Davidson to Princeton was that he wanted "to get closer to where they are doing things." It was the urge not to learning but to action. In a democracy, rhetoric is a weapon of conquest. As Chatham helped his son, the younger Pitt, by example and instruction, so did Wilson's father, a great preacher, inspire young Woodrow. In both cases the style of oratory that resulted was perfect in its spontaneity, its restraint, its precision and its delicate grace of phrase. In both cases the pupil's ear was steadily attuned to the cadences of the King James Bible.

In England budding statesmen feel their feet and train their tongues at the Oxford and Cambridge Union Societies. As a student, Wilson also took care to learn the art of debate. At Davidson he joined the Eumenian Society and discussed the usual motions—whether slavery had been beneficial, whether the death of Lincoln had helped the South,

and whether John Wilkes Booth had been a patriot. At Princeton he joined the Whig Society, the debating club founded by James Madison in 1769, where again he was heard with attention. He happened to run across an article by Sir Henry Lucy, better known as "Toby, M. P." of *Punch*. It was entitled "The Orator," and it "so fired his (Wilson's) imagination that he remembered all his life the exact place at the head of the south stairs in the Chancellor Green Library where he read it." It was not in the courts of law but in the lecture hall that Wilson developed his oratory. At Bryn Mawr, at Wesleyan and at Princeton he lavished all his resources of humor, allusion and lucid exposition on students. That, as a teacher, he was superb appears to be the unanimous verdict. But it should be realized that such a training differs widely from the rough-and-tumble of a Legislature. Woodrow Wilson acquired the habit of speaking from a platform to minds that were still immature. As a professor he was never called to the floor of the House, an equal among equals. He was never subjected to a position in which he could be answered. As Governor, as President, and as spokesman of the Allied and Associated Powers, Woodrow Wilson did not have to join in debate. By virtue of his office he made pronouncements in which a policy, previously decided, was lucidly explained. To be a professor was, thus, never the real profession of Woodrow Wilson. His very lectures indicated his objective. His subject was citizenship, the actual processes of democracy—as he put it in his most famous book, *Congressional Government*. He says frankly that when he wrote the history of the United States it was because that was the best way of learning the history. It was not only a contribution to scholarship, it was a step in his career.

One myth dispelled by these volumes is the idea that Woodrow Wilson was ever anti-British. It was the parliamentary system of England that he admired. Indeed, he wished to approximate the Constitution of the United States to that system, but only succeeded so far as to deliver his messages personally to Congress. In his outlook, Woodrow Wilson here appears as a Gladstonian Liberal. He studied the struggle in England between the people and the privileges of birth and faith with a deep attention. For the English lakes, the home of Southey and Wordsworth, he had passionate affection. It was conservatism in England that did not appeal to Woodrow Wilson.

Whatever may have been the situation later, it is clear that in 1902, when Wilson became President of Princeton, he had hosts of friends belonging to all parties. His election was not

Continued on Page vi.

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Continued from Page iv.

only unanimous; it was by acclamation, and his prestige was immense. To Europe, accustomed to reserve such offices for science and scholarship, the choice has been misleading. The President of Princeton, revealed in these pages, was not so much an educator as a minister of education. He called himself a Prime Minister, and would say that a Prime Minister should be trusted, not criticized. Either support him or find another Prime Minister—that was his theory. His attitude toward Princeton, as here disclosed, was thus essentially parliamentary rather than academic. There was a policy that he wished to carry out. The Board of Trustees, therefore, was his cabinet. The Faculty formed the Senate. The Alumni organization was his House of Representatives. Visiting the great cities, he conducted campaigns among the alumni which, on a small scale, were similar to the campaign that later he conducted in favor of the League of Nations. Broadly, he wanted to transform Princeton into an Oxford or Cambridge. His fifty preceptors were intended to be the tutors in those ancient universities, called by another name. The clubs at Princeton were to be changed into colleges. The graduate school was to be an integral part of the university.

Over the preceptors—a matter of money—he had no difficulty. But the alumni saved the clubs and Dean West defeated Wilson over the graduate school. Mr. Baker is, of course, pro-Wilson, but from that standpoint, he tells the story as fairly, perhaps, as so embittered a story ever will be told. It has been hinted that Woodrow Wilson's nomination in New Jersey was arranged as an escape from his difficult position in the university. Mr. Baker suggests a far broader view. For many years Wilson had been writing and speaking on national questions, and always in the same sense. What he advocated was the paramount claim of the public interest over the private interest. Whatever be its intrinsic merits, the fight at Princeton appealed to the nation as an illustration of this supreme issue. According to Mr. Baker, it came to be regarded as a decision on the question whether wealth, bequeathed to the university, had the right to determine the policy of the university. The Proctor gift of \$500,000 was, in effect, declined, but the Wyman legacy of \$2,000,000 was decisive. "We have beaten the living," said Wilson, on receiving the telegram, "but we cannot fight the dead. The game is up." For millions of men and women who knew little or nothing of Princeton's geography, here was an event that they thought they could understand. "The greatest asset of Princeton" had been Woodrow Wilson. Was the greatest asset to be finance? George Harvey wrote in *Harper's*

Weekly: "We now expect to see Woodrow Wilson elected Governor of the State of New Jersey in 1910, and nominated for President in 1912 upon a platform demanding tariff revision downward."

Mr. Baker supplies precise facts on several personal matters—the innocent yet possibly unwise correspondence with Mrs. Peck; also Wilson's deep devotion to his wife and to his religious faith; and, finally, his heroic battle against ill health. In 1906 he went blind in an eye owing to the break of a bloodvessel and was threatened with arterio-sclerosis. Yet, advised by his doctors to retire from active life, he continued the Presidency of Princeton and fulfilled George Harvey's prophecy.

Brief Book Reviews

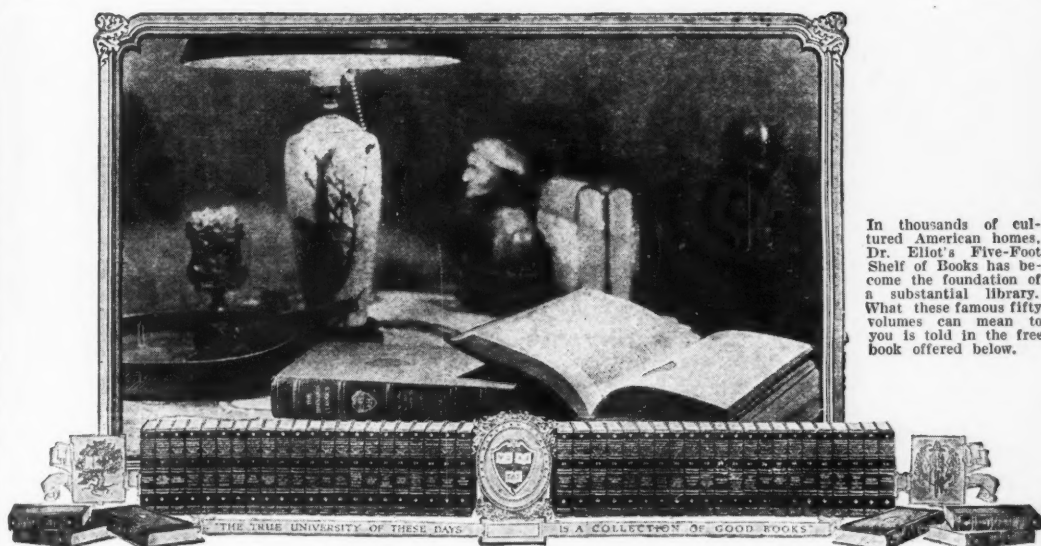
BISMARCK: THE STORY OF A FIGHTER.
By Emil Ludwig. Translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$5.

Here in more than six hundred pages we have the creator of the German Empire presented in a new and characteristically modern fashion—as a dramatic figure viewed through the eyes of a writer who is essentially a student of character and psychologist. In other words, this is no matter-of-fact biography of a statesman built up along the lines of every-day historical scholarship, but a piece of literature in which the purpose is artistic, not scientific. Nevertheless, Ludwig gets in all the facts that the mere seeker after information requires. By choosing to picture Bismarck as a fighter, "a victorious and errant warrior," "a character filled with pride, courage and hatred," the author inevitably lets himself be swept along by the drama of the great man's life. But this drama is not only external and spectacular. It has its source in the unfolding inner life of the man from his earliest years to his ripe old age. All the qualities that Ludwig brings to bear upon his task are those of the imaginative writer, so that when the reader has turned the last page there is an uncannily vivid feeling of having been in the actual presence of an extraordinary character, one whose life was one of "perpetual struggle, occasional victory, increasing passion, never satisfaction, for the most part sagacity, at times error, but invariably characterized by genius even when mistaken."

THE RISE OF THE COMMON MAN (1830-1850). By Professor Carl R. Fish. *History of American Life Series.* Edited by A. M. Schlesinger and D. R. Fox. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Professor Fish gives this complex period, which has often baffled historians, very competent treatment, bringing out clearly the various important philosophical and social developments, for it was then that the foundations of all our succeeding reform movements were

Continued on Page viii.



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Continued from Page vi.

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THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN AMERICA (1865-1878). By Professor Allan Nevins. *History of American Life Series.* Edited by A. M. Schlesinger and D. R. Fox. New York: The Macmillan Company.

The rise of modern America out of the chaos of civil war is traced by Professor Nevins through all its conflicting ideas and ideals. He shows the distinctive contribution each section of the country has made to the national culture—to economic growth, intellectual life, social idealism. "The Coal-Oil Johnnies, the swaggering gamblers in Wall Street, the railway and mining kings, picturesque but evanescent figures, are offset by the bold standard bearers of university ideals, the venturesome creators of a new American literature and the pioneers of the test tube and microscope."

THE HOUSE OF LORDS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By A. S. Turberville. New York: Oxford University Press. \$7.

What may be termed the "golden age" of the House of Lords is the subject of this truly exhaustive and scholarly work just completed by Mr. Turberville. He describes how the Lords for a space of about seventy years had everything their own way, controlled the lower house completely by their wealth and influence, and dominated the twenty-five Cabinets of the period. Mr. Turberville says in conclusion: "This record of oligarchical government in Great Britain reveals the defects as well as the virtues of oligarchical statesmanship. Its range was limited and it was deficient in powers of imagination; it failed where the situation demanded a sympathetic appreciation of unfamiliar points of view and of novel problems. * * * It did not even recognize that the industrial revolution involved the birth of a social problem. * * * But the permanence of the system gave stability to government and continuity to national policy. Still more valuable was its habit of public service."

THE LEGACY OF ISRAEL: THE JEWISH CONTRIBUTION TO MODERN CIVILIZATION ESTIMATED BY LEADING SCHOLARS. Planned by Israel Abrahams and edited by Edwin Bevans and Charles Singer. New York: Oxford University Press. \$4.

This book, according to the preface, "deals with the contribution that has come to the sum of human thought from Judaism and from the Jewish view of the world; it is not in any sense either a history of the Jewish people or an exposition of Judaism." It consists of a series of essays by such eminent scholars as A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford; Sir George Adam Smith, Principal of Aberdeen University, and others equally qualified. Some of the subjects treated are: The influence of Judaism upon Christianity, Islam and the Jews, Hellenistic Judaism, the Jewish factor in medieval thought, influence of the

Old Testament on Puritanism, Jewish thought in the modern world. Our great debt to Israel, as the carrier of Greek and Arabic thought to Christendom and as the one racial group whose past and present history form a homogeneous whole, is stressed. The volume is a notable and scholarly contribution to literature, and would be a distinct addition to any library.

THEODORE HERZL: A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY. By Jacob De Haas. New York: Brentano's. \$10.

The first Zionist Congress, held at Basle on Aug. 29, 1897, was the culminating point of Herzl's life, for it was as a direct result of his efforts and convictions that it had come to pass. He wrote in his diary on that day: "In Basle I founded the Jewish State." It was the famous Dreyfus case that had stirred him into action and he differed from his predecessors in that he recognized the necessity for a Jewish political entity. Mr. De Haas characterizes him as a "Garibaldi without a red shirt following—a rare manifestation in Jewish life."

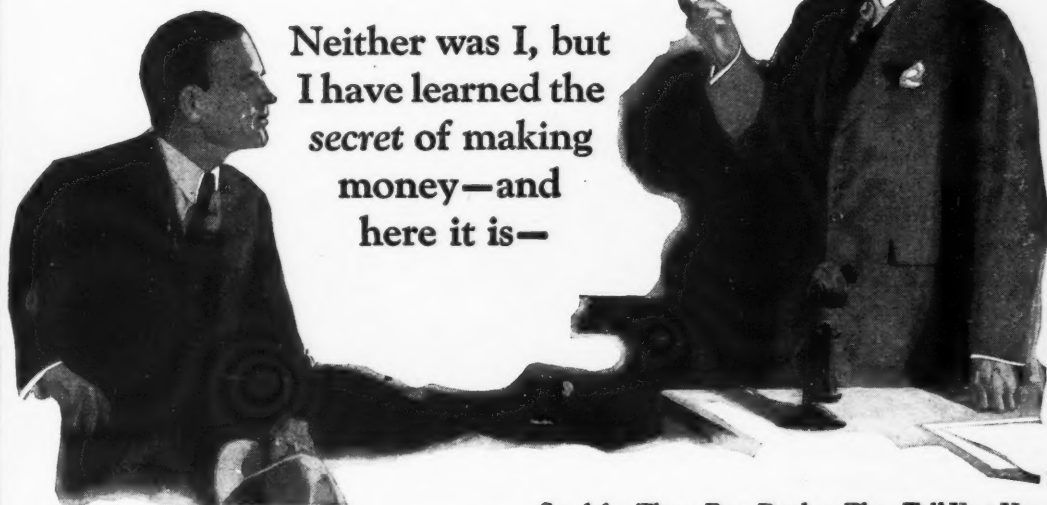
WRECKING THE LABOR BANKS. By William Z. Foster. Chicago: Trade Union Educational League. 25 cents.

The recent collapse of the labor banks and investment companies of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, whose slogan was "Labor Becoming Capital," is described and analyzed in this pamphlet. Mr. Foster lays their failure to the fact that "the class collaboration policy on which trade union capitalism is founded denies the fundamental conflict of interests between the working class and the capitalist class." The lay mind will, however, be prone to dwell thoughtfully on the glaring evidences of mismanagement, graft and bad faith on the part of the workers' representatives which Mr. Foster discloses as more direct causes.

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM: A SYSTEM OF SOCIOLOGY. By Nikolai Bukharin. Authorized translation from the third Russian edition. New York: International Publishers. \$3.25.

Bukharin, the editor of *Pravda*, the official organ of the Russian Communist Party and the chief intellectual representative of the group that today directs the destinies of the Soviet Union, in this book makes a valuable addition to the comparatively small body of literature in which the ideas of historical materialism are expounded. Fortunately, he is an interesting writer, and what might be a dry treatise becomes in his hands a lively piece of reading. Though the book is an up-to-date account and an amplification, rich in illustrative matter, of the doctrine originally put forth by Marx and Engels, it is also to be welcomed for the light it throws not only upon the ideas which lie at the back of the Bolshevik revolution, but also upon that larger intellectual change which has been felt throughout the world in almost every branch of human knowledge and inquiry. Although there are Marxists who hold that the revolutionary doctrines of Communism cannot be separated from its more distinctly philosophical theories, the fact remains that the materialistic conception of history has had a profound influence among thinkers far removed from proletarian schools of thought; and for that reason, if for no other, any work that helps to elucidate the vexed question of how

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Continued from Page viii.

history should be interpreted is well worth study.

KARL MARX: MAN, THINKER AND REVOLUTIONIST. A symposium edited by D. Ryazanov. New York: International Publishers. \$1.75.

The value of this collection of papers by Marx, his friends and followers is that most of the material has not been hitherto available in English. It includes a striking article written by Marx in June, 1848, on the defeat of the workers in Paris and a speech he delivered on the revolution of 1848 at a gathering of English Chartists in 1856. In addition to two biographies, one by Engels, the other by Eleanor Marx, there are personal sketches of Marx and accounts of his work from the pens of Plehanov, Franz Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg, K. Timiryazev, Paul Lafargue, Friedrich Lessner and William Liebknecht. To not a few readers the most interesting contribution will perhaps be that by Lenin, who in forty pages presents a remarkably concise statement of the whole system of philosophic, economic and revolutionary doctrines that is known as Marxism. From the concluding contribution by the editor of the symposium we learn that Shakespeare, Aeschylus and Goethe were Marx's favorite poets, and Diderot his favorite prose writer. Paul Lafargue, however, tells us that in addition to his unbounded admiration for Shakespeare, Marx delighted in Dante and Burns, and regarded Balzac of such great importance that he intended to write a critique of the French novelist's work as soon as he should have finished his economic studies.

GREAT SHORT NOVELS OF THE WORLD: A Collection of Complete Tales Chosen from the Literatures of All Periods and Countries. By Barrett H. Clark. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co. \$5.

Mr. Clark has followed up *Great Short Stories of the World*, the collection edited by him in collaboration with Maxim Lieber, with this no less interesting volume of nearly 1,300 pages. Although no two persons would agree entirely on what tales should be selected, every one included here is either a masterpiece or of first-class interest. Some appear in English for the first time, for example, the tales by Dandin (ancient India), Gide (France), Reymont (Poland), Aho (Finland), Gjalski (Yugoslavia), and Bang (Denmark). Among the excellent features of the book are introductory historical notes on the literature of the different countries and periods to which these short novels belong and the biographical notes on the authors. Taken as a whole, the book may be regarded no less as a feast of fiction than as a glowing sidelight on human history from biblical times to the present day.

STRENUOUS ITALY: SOLVING A PERILOUS PROBLEM. By H. Nelson Gay. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.

Italy's "perilous problem" is summarized by Mr. Gay as follows: "Each day there are a thousand more Italians to be fed and, if possible, employed, within the narrow boundaries of the peninsula than there were on the day previous." Obviously a thorough-going admirer of Mussolini and of Fascism, Mr. Gay enumerates in detail the remedies the Fascist Government is applying, such as health improvement, eradication of illiteracy, utilization of

the abundant water power, intensification of agricultural production, regulation of labor and prices, curbing of immigration, and last and most important, encouragement of colonization. An orderly and impressive picture of material progress and achievement is the result. Whether these results justify the sacrifice of intangible personal rights to a paternalistic dictatorship is an open question which Mr. Gay leaves unanswered.

THE NEW GERMANY. By Ernest Jaeckh. New York: Oxford University Press. \$2.

These three lectures, delivered at Geneva two months before the entrance of Germany into the League of Nations, give voice to the rational spirit that is stirring not only the "new Germany," but enlightened European opinion in general—the conviction that the only way to avert another war is to increase the amount of intelligence systematically devoted to public affairs. To this end after the Armistice Dr. Jaeckh founded the German Institute of Politics (Deutsche Hochschule für Politik) as a centre for mobilizing the national intelligence in political study and combining the worlds of thought and of action by maintaining actual contact with the world of affairs. If this is a typical expression of the "new Germany," as Dr. Jaeckh would have us believe, it augurs well for the future, for, in the words of Gerhart Hauptmann, "Those who have at heart the salvation of mankind cannot be parted by the gods."

PROVINCIAL SOCIETY (1690-1763). By James Truslow Adams. *History of American Life Series.* Edited by A. M. Schlesinger and D. R. Fox. New York: The Macmillan Company.

The quotation from Benjamin Franklin which prefaces this volume is taken by Dr. Adams as the key to the spirit of the period: "The first drudgery of settling new colonies, which confines the attention of people to mere necessities, is now pretty well over; and there are many in every province in circumstances that set them at ease and afford leisure to cultivate the finer arts and improve the common stock of knowledge." Dr. Adams, as well as treating the important political developments of the period, traces in detail the rise of an authentic American culture and the significant changes worked in the predominating English tradition by the entrance in large numbers of other nationalities.

MONEY AND MONETARY POLICIES IN EARLY TIMES. By A. R. Burns. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$7.50.

A very complete account of the evolution of money and coins out of more primitive systems of exchange. The solutions found by the great peoples of the ancient Mediterranean world to the larger problems arising out of the maintenance of a currency system are investigated and valuable comparisons are drawn with the policy of modern States. The book is part of a series entitled "The History of Civilization" and may be regarded as the final word on the particular field which it covers.

THE FIRST AMERICANS (1607-1690). By Thomas J. Wertenbacher. *History of American Life Series.* Edited by A. M. Schlesinger and D. R. Fox. New York: The Macmillan Company.

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ADAMS, JOHN. *Statesman and Friend; Correspondence of John Adams and Benjamin Waterhouse 1784-1822.* Edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford. Boston: Little Brown, 1927. \$3.

Letters recently discovered, written between 1784 and 1822 to one of the most distinguished scientific men of our early history, discussing both scientific questions and politics.

AMERICAN ARBITRATION ASSOCIATION. *Year Book of Commercial Arbitration in the United States, 1927.* New York: Oxford University Press. \$7.50.

A case record of the settlements of industrial and commercial disputes made during the past year by arbitration rather than by litigation; 270 cases were decided in 1926.

ARNOT, R. PAGE. *Soviet Russia and Her Neighbors.* New York: Vanguard, 1927. 50 cents.

One of the Vanguard Studies of Soviet Russia, a series describing various phases of present day Russian life, written by authors generally sympathetic to the Soviet experiment. Others treat of the governmental organization, industry, the family, education, health, religion and art.

AULD, GEORGE P. *The Dawes Plan and the New Economics.* Garden City: Doubleday Page, 1927. \$2.50.

An examination of the Dawes plan for the reconstruction of Europe and an attempt to prove both that Germany can pay and that the payments can be transferred. By the former Accountant General of the Reparation Commission.

BAKER, RAY STANNARD. *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters.* Garden City: Doubleday Page, 1927. 2 vols. \$10.00.

The first volume records Mr. Wilson's life from 1856 to 1890, when he became a Professor at Princeton. The second ends with his resignation as President of the university. Others are to follow. The authorized biography, based on a careful examination of Mr. Wilson's papers.

BELL, LADY, Editor. *Letters of Gertrude Bell*. New York; Boni & Liveright, 1927. 2 vols. \$10.

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CHEW, OSWALD, Editor. *The Stroke of the Moment: A Discussion of the Foreign Debts*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1927. \$3.

Forty different presentations of the debt settlement problem, all but two of which have been previously printed. A very useful compendium of the argument for revision.

CROMPTON, GEORGE. *The Tariff, an Interpretation of a Bewildering Problem*. New York: Macmillan, 1927. \$2.50.

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HUGHES, RUPERT. *George Washington, the Rebel and the Patriot*. New York: Morrow, 1927.

The second volume of this much discussed biography covering Washington's life from 1763 to the Battle of Trenton.

KERENSKY, ALEXANDER F. *The Catastrophe: Kerensky's Own Story of the Russian Revolution*. New York: Appleton, 1927. \$3.

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KIMBALL, THEODORA. *Manual of Information on City Planning and Zoning; Including References on Regional, Rural and National Planning*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. \$3.50.

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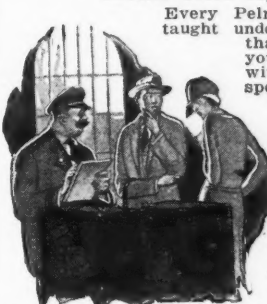
MASARYK, THOMAS G. *The Making of a State; Memories and Observations, 1914-1918*. Edited by Henry Wickham Steed. New York: Stokes, 1927. \$6.

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City planning and improved housing as practiced in a number of American communities. Shows that its advantages are quite as much economic as esthetic. By a well known authority.

RUSSELL, CHARLES EDWARD. The American Orchestra and Theodore Thomas. New York: Doubleday Page, 1927. \$5.

A biography of Thomas, attributing to him a large share of the credit for the development of the appreciation of orchestral music in America.

SELIGMAN, EDWIN R. A. The Economics of Installment Selling. New York: Harper, 1927. \$8.

A careful investigation of the social and economic effect of the extensive development of this form of credit, by an economist whose established reputation gives his conclusions unusual value.

STARR, JOHN W., JR. Lincoln and the Railroads. New York: Dodd Mead, 1927. \$3.

A contribution not only to the biography of Lincoln but to the history of railway transportation in the middle nineteenth century.

STIMSON, HENRY LEWIS. American Policy in Nicaragua. New York: Scribner, 1927. \$1.25.

A temperate and orderly account of our relations with Nicaragua and in particular of Mr. Stimson's recent settlement with the opposing factions.

STODDARD, HENRY L. As I Knew Them. Presidents and Politics from Grant to Coolidge. New York: Harper, 1927. \$5.

A veteran newspaper man summarizes the essential characteristics of our political leaders. An important contribution to recent political history.

WATKINS, MYRON W. Industrial Combinations and Public Policy: A Study of Combination, Competition and Common Welfare. Edited by Allan A. Young. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927. \$2.50.

The trust problem up to date. A discussion of the advantages and the dangers of large combinations and their control through legislation. Temperate and scholarly.

WILSON, R. MACNAIR. Lord Northcliffe; a study. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1927.

In no sense a complete biography; rather a character sketch of the man who revolutionized British journalism.

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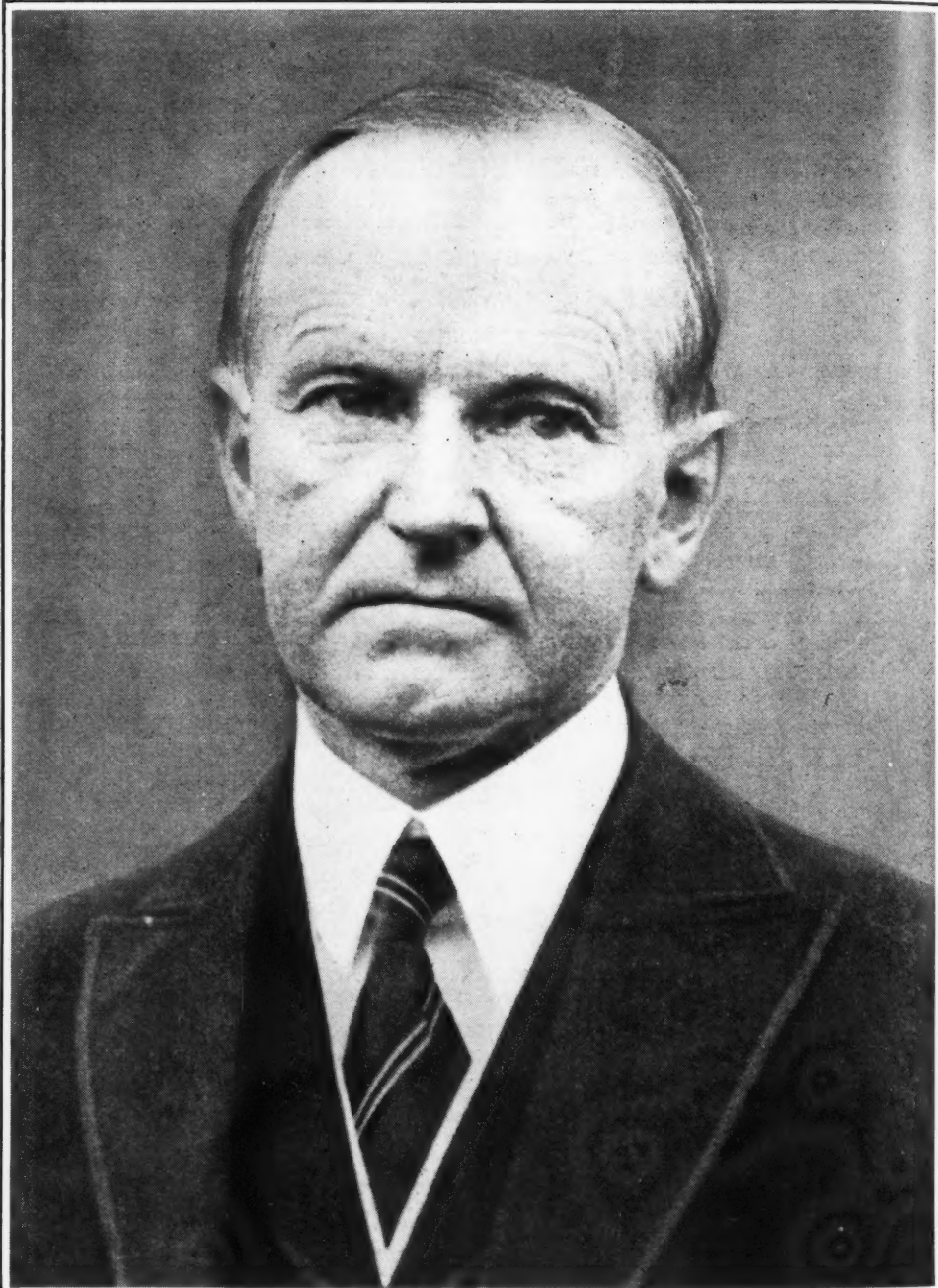
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FROM AN UNTOUCHED PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN OCTOBER, 1927

Wide World

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